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THE

HISTORY OF GREECE.

BY

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THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE UNITY OF GREECE.

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Basis and ultimate limits of the Greek nationality.

In the same measure in which the Greek settlements had overspread every coast, the mainland of the Greeks had continued to narrow and decrease. For the Greek nationality was so essentially based on a particular civilisation, that all the members of the Greek race who took no part in its progress, however near in respect of their habitations, appeared to be excluded from the nationality; whereas the remotest regions in which a fortunate settlement had enabled Greek civilisation to fix its roots belonged in every sense to the land of the Greeks.

After this fashion the land of Greece had separated from the body of the mountain-country stretching to the north of the Ægean; in other words, the peninsula-country had separated from the mainland. In Epirus a number of tribes akin to one another first possessed a common sanctuary, in connexion with which they afterwards received a common name (vol. i. p. 104). The sacred oak of Dodona put forth its leaves as late as the age of the Antonines; nay, the oracle of Zeus survived for centuries the end of the history of the Greek people, and, as its primitive sanctuary, always remained an object of veneration. But the more highly gifted of its tribes turned to the south

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and east, where they were in closer vicinity to the fertilising contact of the tribes of Asia Minor; and these the national history followed. A second centre then formed itself on the Thessalian Olympus, where the world of gods and men submits to a more definite order. The Græci become Hellenes; and the more closely the Amphictyonic tribes unite amongst themselves, the more resolute is their resistance against any contact with the world without. Macedonia and Epirus became a territory of barbarians. Once more Epirotic tribes swarm over the Pindus. Thessaly, the most ancient Hellas, is estranged from the Hellenes, although external forms of connexion continue to exist. The nobler tribes gather in a closer circle round Parnassus, and form a still more limited Hellas, from which even the whole western half of central Greece, the whole district of the Achelous, which continues to retain its old relations to Dodona, remains excluded. Two peninsulas, that in Central Greece situate to the east of Parnassus, and Peloponnesus, now form the whole of Hellas proper, "collected Greece, as it was called by way of contrast to the Greek settlements, which like a narrow rim encircled the countries of the barbarians.

The Greek priesthood.

Thus, by means of systems both religious and political in character, the Greek people stepped forth out of a great mass of tribes related to it. All Greek collective national names attach themselves to particular sanctuaries: these are the centres of union, and the starting-points of history. By a movement originating in these the land of the Pelasgi grew into the Hellenic land; Hellen and his sons, as Thucydides says, or, in other words, the Amphictyonic Greeks, advancing from place to place, and spreading the same measure of culture. In this respect Apollo, as the god of the Thessalian Amphictyony, may be said to be the founder of the common nationality of the Hellenes, and the originator of Hellenic history.

In the name of this god the families acted which

had established his worship, and cherished it with priestly hands, which together with the divine had also established the civic system of law. They developed and represented the idea of a national unity, the progress of which is incomprehensible without a proper appreciation of the position and significance of the priesthood in Greek national life.

Among the Greeks, as among the Italicans, religion was a matter of personal conscience, and the full exercise of divine worship a personal right of every freeman. No privileged caste stood between gods and men. Every Hellene may offer sacrifice and prayer without any stranger's mediation. The mission of religion is to accompany every public and domestic action, to sanctify every day, to consecrate every labour and every pleasure. This object is achieved by man's putting himself in communication with the gods. Sacrifices are nothing but the expression of the communion of life between gods and men, which should constantly be renewed; the sacrificing human being is a guest of the gods, and is thought worthy of sitting at the table of the gods, like Tantalus, the friend of the gods, and like the blameless Æthiopians, whose meal is shared by the Homeric Zeus. And since this friendship of the gods is the fundamental condition of every human blessing, it is also accessible to every member of the people, and every one whose hands are clean may at the altar assure himself anew of his possession of this communion with the gods.

But sacrificial worship must be independent of the necessities and religious feelings of the individual. Accordingly, although every father of a family is a priest, a particular priesthood is needed to give a permanent and regular character to the religious worship and to cause it to be administered according to fixed traditions. Therefore it is not for any and every man to be the priest of any deity, but the priesthoods are attached to particular families, to which the

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worship in question belonged as a peculiar property of their own when they first ranged themselves among the members of the state. Thus, *e.g.*, Telines in Gela, who out of his native Telos had brought the worship of Demeter and Cora to Sicily, being granted a boon by his fellow-citizens, was by his own desire publicly recognised as priest of these divinities; his family worship became a state religion, the continued existence of which henceforth involved the salvation of the state. Fixed revenues were assigned for a regular sacrificial service, consisting in arable and pasture land, fish-ponds, woods, &c., and always administered in hereditary succession by members of the priestly families.

The hereditary priesthood.

Thus a hereditary nobility, endowed with immutable rights, came to be formed by the families which united in a civic community, mutually recognising their respective gods. They formed the heart of the civic body, round which gathered its more loosely-attached members; and for all times it remained a privilege of nobility to possess the right of sacrifice at the domestic altar of a priestly family, such as, *e.g.*, the Attic Butadæ. Although, then, the priests as such constituted no particular caste or order in the state, and nowhere kept apart from the other occupations of life, peaceful or warlike, yet on account of their near and personal relations to the national gods, and of their knowledge of what was due to the latter, they and those belonging to them were in the eyes of the people clothed with a peculiar dignity. For nothing was so venerable in the eyes of the state as the unwritten statutes and the sacred usages, which had to be most religiously observed, if the wrath of the gods was to be averted. Now, of these statutes the knowledge was only preserved by oral tradition within the families. It was the one thing which remained ever and indestructibly the same in the midst of the rapid change which all human affairs must undergo. For this reason, too, its representatives were especially

called to keep ancient usage alive within the communities, and not to allow the living connexion between the present and the past to perish. Thus, as it was pre-eminently in the sacrificial language that ancient forms and words were preserved, so in the families of the sacrificers were ancient sentiments and ideas, and the manners and customs of their ancestors.

Relations between the priesthood and the state.

In proportion, therefore, as a spirit of innovation increased in the Greek states, the salutary counterbalance provided in the priestly families gained importance; owing to the veneration which uninterruptedly fell to their lot, they were a power in the state. It was their duty to guard the purity of the particular forms of religious worship and to motion off any one who approached the gods of the state without the right of so doing, or in an improper manner or with an impious design, as happened to the wild Cleomenes in Argos and in Athens. In this case they asserted with decisive energy the political independence of their states, as the sacrifice proposed by the strange king was merely intended to serve his claims of dominion. But, above all, they asserted the right of the gods as opposed to that of man; it was their particular duty to prevent any intermixture between the Sacred and the Profane; for in the accurate recognition of this distinction lay the essence of the Hellenic religion. Accordingly no vessel which had been used in the sacrifice might ever be employed for profane purposes; no piece of land that belonged to the gods might be taken from the sanctuary, and no right attached to it violated. The priests, therefore, pre-eminently guarded the right of inviolability belonging to the consecrated ground, and took every one under their protection against the arm of the state who had found an asylum with the gods or placed himself in any kind of immediate contact with sacred ground. Finally, since the temporal state in all things retained a feeling of dependence and inadequacy, the priests had manifoldly to support it, to

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strengthen its laws by their sanction, to terrify those about to transgress them by the threat of divine punishments, publicly to curse the open enemies of the state in the name of the gods, and to consecrate by their solemn blessing the acts of religious worship performed by the community of the state (such as, above all, the sending of sacred embassies to Delphi or Delos), in order that they might prove acceptable to the gods.

The less accordingly the state could spare the priestly families, the easier it was for the latter to form a dangerous power as against the government of the state when a conflict arose. Thus, *e.g.*, it happened on Chios, when the priests objected to the extradition of a suppliant resolved upon by the temporal authorities, and expressed their refusal by declaring in the name of the gods that they would not receive any sacrificial gifts out of the territory acquired by such a violation of divine right. This was equivalent to excommunicating the territory of Atarneus. During seasons of party struggles they formed a conservative power of great importance. When vehement reformers, such as Clisthenes at Sicyon, forcibly exchanged one worship for another, the principal part of the operation consisted in the removal from the state of a number of families which opposed an inflexible resistance to him, in order to introduce in their stead other and more submissive families. The priestly houses were themselves split up into parties for and against, as was, above all, undeniably the case in the age of the Pisistratidæ (vol. i. p. 367); and generally this was the reason why the priestly families, notwithstanding the great importance belonging to them in public life, never asserted any hierarchical claims. They did not hold together like a corporate body: for this the number of state divinities and priestly families was too great; and the priests, like their gods themselves, were divided into older and younger, more or less distinguished and more or less active.

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The mantic art among the Greeks;

The mantic art is an institution totally different from the priesthood. It is based on the belief that the gods are in constant proximity to men, and in their government of the world, which comprehends everything both great and small, will not disdain to manifest their will; nay, it seems necessary that, whenever any hitch has arisen in the moral system of the human world, this should also manifest itself by some sign in the world of nature, if only mortals are able to understand and avail themselves of these divine hints.

For this a special capacity is requisite; not a capacity which can be learnt like a human art or science, but rather a peculiar state of grace in the case of single individuals and single families whose ears and eyes are opened to the divine revelations, and who participate more largely than the rest of mankind in the divine spirit. Accordingly it is their office and calling to assert themselves as organs of the divine will; they are justified in opposing their authority to every power of the world. On this head conflicts were unavoidable, and the reminiscences living in the Greek people, of the agency of a Tiresias and Calchas, prove how the Heroic kings experienced not only support and aid, but also opposition and violent protests, from the mouths of the men of prophecy.

According to the realistic notion of the ancient world, the signs of the divine will were especially sought for in the atmosphere. Phenomena in connexion with the heavenly bodies, tempest and storm, every unusual event appearing to interrupt the peaceable connexion between heaven and earth, were regarded as admonitions and notifications from the gods; but particularly the birds, especially those whose flight carried them far aloft, seemed naturally destined to keep alive the communication between the world on the earth and that above it. Furthermore, since it was by sacrifice that man was to attain to immediate communion of life with the gods, so it was natural here, above all, to expect divine revela-

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tions. For since before every enterprise of any importance men wished to assure themselves of this communion as remaining unbroken, of course every unforeseen disturbance of the sacrificial act was recognised as a refusal of this communion on the part of the gods, and a warning against attempting the intended undertaking. Hence the anxious examination of the sacrificial victim, which, although externally fair and faultless, yet might internally display blemishes and irregularities which made it appear unworthy of the gods; hence also the close observation of the sacrificial flame, as well as of every single component part of the sacrifice and of its whole course, during which every one present listened in holy silence for the divine revelation. Even the furrows and rents in the skin of the victims were accounted of significance in Olympia.

Proportionate to the Greek conception of all nature as pervaded by divine life was the multiplicity of signs everywhere apparent to the Hellenes, among whom the germs are to be found of everything which the Romans developed as their augural discipline. But it was not consonant with the feelings of the former people to provide the art of prophecy with a systematic form of doctrine. This was handed down with its traditionary rites and usages as an heirloom in single families. The state recognised the importance of these families, as, *e.g.*, of the Pythiastæ and Deliastæ, who, standing on sacred ground, watched the lightning over Mount Parnes, in order to fix in accordance with it the right time for the despatch of the embassies to the festivals of Apollo from Athens. In Sparta the observation of the heavens possessed an importance more closely affecting public life. We may remember that it was a power in the hands of the Ephori, who might even suspend the royal office of the Heraclidæ when the signs were unfavourable. In the Spartan state a timid religiosity was fostered more than anywhere else; and the auspices were frequently employed by the authorities there for political purposes.

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its higher and lower forms.

Even in Athens the people ran home in the midst of the most important debates when an unusual sign of weather was announced, or an ill-omened animal made its appearance amongst them. Such occurrences might in single cases be craftily used to further party interests; but the more the national consciousness progressed in the state, and the more refined it became, the less importance was attached to all these matters. In the long run no priesthood or party in Greece succeeded in founding influence and power on auspices. The Greek world is manifestly pervaded by a desire for spiritual freedom and clearness, for moral independence, which wishes to act on its own responsibility; and as already the Homeric Hector answers the interpreter of signs, who timidly warns him against fighting, with the noble words,

"One is the best of omens: to fight in the front for our country,"

so with the advance of their culture the consciousness of the Greeks liberates itself from the influence of the objects of nature, and endeavours to find the laws of action in itself, after placing itself in harmony with the statutes of the gods. The prophets and interpreters of signs continue to exercise their craft as before, and it is left to the individual to attach more or less value to their arts, according to the standpoint of his culture; but the state has no interest in the matter, except in so far as it endeavours to prevent any deceitful proceedings: as, *e.g.*, the Hieropœi in Athens exercised a control of the kind. Meanwhile in general all the subordinate forms of the mantic art, which consisted in a timid inquiry into objects of the senses, as well as the artificial interpretation of signs, which at an early period degenerated into a traffic of a low and money-seeking character, were soon and universally relegated into the region of *Deisidæmonia* or superstition; and only such prophecies as had their source in a state of mind elevated by the vicinity of a god retained an important significance in the public life of the Hellenes.

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This higher kind of prophecy belonged to the worship of Apollo, in which the mantic art, no less than the entire religious feeling of the Hellenes, finds its highest development. Apollo is himself the prophet of the Supreme Zeus and his mediator with mankind. From Apollo the observation of lightning and birds, the prophecy from sacrificial victims and the interpretation of the divine will by the use of the lot, are made to originate. The countries where his worship earliest appears at its highest stage, Caria and Lycia, are also familiar with these forms of the mantic art. But a peculiarly Apolline character belongs to every prophecy resulting from a state of illumination and elevation of the human soul, from a condition in which the spirit of a mortal is permitted a glance into a higher order of things. Accordingly then the question here is one, not of an impertinent curiosity, but of the establishment of a harmony between the visible and invisible world, in which lies a pledge for the prosperity of public life.

Prophecy.

The god himself chooses the organs of his communications; and, as a sign that it is no human wisdom and art which reveals the divine will, Apollo speaks through the mouth of feeble girls and women. The state of inspiration is by no means one of specially heightened powers, but the human being's own powers —nay, own consciousness—are, as it were, extinguished, in order that the divine voice may be heard all the louder; the secret communicated by the god resembles a load oppressing the breast it visits; it is a *clairvoyance* from which no satisfaction accrues to the mind of the seer. This seer or sibyl is accordingly not herself capable of revelation; the things announced by her are as incomprehensible to her as to her hearers; so that an interpretation is necessary to enable men to avail themselves of the prophecy. For this employment those persons and families who by their administration of his religious worship stood nearest to the god seemed most naturally qualified;

and this is the point at which the mantic art and the priesthood, which originally have nothing in common between them, first enter into a momentous connexion. The interpreters of the divine sayings bring the latter more and more into the circle of their influence and their power. They call themselves prophets or soothsayers; as descendants of a certain Euangelus, "the bringer of good news from the gods," they are called Euangelidæ; whenever they had not, as in Clarus, appropriated to themselves the prophetic office, they, in the name of the god, elect his prophetesses. Thus the mantic art becomes a servant of the priesthood, and its theocratic power is transferred to the priestly families.

Relations between the priesthood and the prophetic art.

Since the mantic art entirely depends upon the divinity's own willingness to reveal itself, it naturally possesses the character of something extraordinary and irregular; a source of knowledge which only flows by the special operation of the divinity. Prophecy retained this primitive form in the home of the Greek Apollo, especially in Lycia, where the prophetess, when she fancied that she felt the approach of the god, shut herself up in the temple, there to await his gracious coming. His presence might be especially looked for on the days on which the first appearance of the god, his birthday, was celebrated. This was especially the seventh of the spring-month Thargelion, when light and warmth regain their power and glorify the revival of the world.

The more power, however, the priests acquired by means of their combination with the mantic art, the more they obliged the latter to engage, contrary to its original nature, in a regular agency at the service of the public in fixed places and on fixed days. For it is a mark of Hellenic piety to use faithfully the means of grace offered in prophecy, and to seek its places with sacrifices and gifts. Thus grew up prophetic institutions or oracles. They are essentially priestly institutions, in which the mantic art is reduced

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more and more to a mere form. The woman herself, who is inspired by the god and chosen by the priests, is also questioned by them, and their announcements of her answers are regarded as pieces of divine counsel. Meanwhile, this reform of the mantic art is not regarded as an usurpation calculated to hurt the religious sanctity of the proceeding, but men believe in the continued immediate participation of the divinity in the beneficent institutions in which in its name the divine law is announced. And as administrators of these oracles the priests acquire an entirely new calling, and a new power of far-reaching importance for the history of the entire people.

This authority of the priesthoods must astonish every one who clearly recognises to how great an extent, upon the whole, the spirit of the Hellenic people, in its desire for clearness, moral independence, and freedom of motion, resisted all theocratic influences, and how for this reason a hierarchical power was nowhere able to establish itself within the single states. Hence particular grounds must exist which will explain the beginning and the long endurance of this authority belonging to the priests of the oracle.

The power of the oracles.

If it be the case that the worship of Apollo was brought over to the European shores by the tribes of Crete and Asia Minor, which had developed themselves earlier, the representatives of this worship were at the same time the agents of the spread of this advanced culture. Only thus can we explain the influence, affecting all relations of life, which follows the worship of Apollo wherever the latter may fix its roots. This is at the same time the reason for the superior influence obtained by the priestly families among the natives: they were able to assert themselves as men of a privileged spiritual endowment, armed with an incomparably higher knowledge of the world, and hence possessed of the capacity and mission of becoming in the name of their god the teachers and counsellors, in all matters, of the children of the land.

Herein lies the germ of the priestly power. After the culture of the immigrants and natives had become equalised by means of mutual communications, other foundations were needed to keep up the superior power once acquired by the priestly families. These they obtained in the first place by taking eager measures in their own interest for the maintenance in their own circle of a scholastic drill, by which great readiness and assurance in answering the questions proposed were secured. If they were questions touching the future, questions which no human being could answer with certainty, it was permissible with sagacious foresight to make the god answer in such a manner that the event could in no case prove him to have been in error. Questions into the decision of which the priests preferred not to enter they might reject on suitable grounds. These, it must be remembered, were by no means always questions to be answered only from a knowledge of the future; but as a rule advice and counsel were sought in arduous undertakings, decisions in cases of dispute, aid in all manner of human difficulties; in all of which even a mere impartial judgment might be of great use to the situation. Moreover, for many the oracle became a blessing, from the mere fact that after a long and anxious time of doubt they were driven to a fixed resolve, which they now cheerfully executed, trusting to the divine sanction. Moreover, the priesthoods were far too clever not to keep up a close and uninterrupted connexion with all the more important points of the Hellenic world.

Not only through the widely-spread Apolline priesthoods, but through personal relations of every kind they had an accurate knowledge of the social condition of all the more important Hellenic places. They knew the state of party questions before the parties appeared before them; they possessed a clear judgment as to the external dangers and internal difficulties of the single communities; they even had ways and means

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of seeing through individuals before they took the fate of the latter into their hands. If we consider how, besides this extensive knowledge of the world and men, in the circle of the priestly families there was handed down from one generation to another a peculiar wisdom, a safe tact in the judgment of difficult relations of life (for a series of similar cases already existed to serve for purposes of comparison with each case submitted for an opinion; and thus a practice came to form itself with continually increasing definiteness for answers and counsel of every kind); if we consider this, it is not difficult to understand how, even after the equalisation of the original difference in culture formerly prevailing between the Apolline missions and the country people around, the oracle institutions could preserve their authority unimpaired for the good of the people. They were a power in the land: motive forces of history had their seat in these priestly institutions; but the forces act as from behind a veil. Their effective, guiding, and systematising influence is everywhere traceable; without an appreciation of which Greek history cannot be understood. But no individual figures appear in the foreground whom one might know face to face and call by known names. The priesthoods were close corporations, the members of which merely acted in the interest of the whole body; and it is, in truth, admirable to find, notwithstanding the personal ambition so deeply implanted in every Hellenic breast, so great a sense of corporate obligation, so high a discipline and order, preserving themselves for centuries, that no event could take place but in the name of the god, and that, notwithstanding all the movements and changes of tribes and cities, a fixed and consistent attitude could so long be maintained by the oracles.

Localities of the oracles.

Wherever the worship of Apollo had fixed its roots, there were sibyls and prophets; for Apollo is nowhere conceivable without the beneficent light of prophecy

streaming out from his abode. The happy situation and moral significance of the leading colleges of priests procured a peculiar authority for individual oracles. Among these are the Lycian Patara, the Thymbræan oracle near Troja (to which belongs Cassandra, the most famed of Apollo's prophetesses), the Gryneum on Lesbos, the Clarian oracle near Colophon, and finally the most important of all the oracles of Asia Minor, the Didymæum near Miletus, where the family of the Branchidæ held the prophetic office as a hereditary honorary right.

Delos connects the Apolline stations on the two opposite sides of the water: here, too, was a primitive oracle, where Anius, the son of Apollo, was celebrated as the founder of a priestly family of soothsayers. By the channel of the Euripus, whose straits conducted so large a body of Eastern civilisation to the coast of Hellas, Eubœa, the native country of the Cymæan sibyl, as well as the mainland opposite, entered into a connexion with the prophetic seats of the Greek East; the sanctuaries of Ismenian Apollo in Thebes were founded, the Ptoïum on the hill which separates the Hylian plain of the sea from the Copæic, and in Phocis the oracle of Abæ. The reason why the fame of all these celebrated seats of Apollo was obscured by that of Delphi lies in a series of exceptional and extraordinary circumstances by which this place was qualified to become a centre, not only of the lands in its immediate neighbourhood, like the other oracles, but of the whole nation.

Delphi.

It is scarcely conceivable that any other ancient sanctuary could have occupied a more insignificant and secluded situation than Delphi. Here rose no heights naturally adapted for a temple, overlooking a free horizon of the country, and lying at the meeting-point of convenient high-roads; but a narrow gorge led between masses of trackless hills, for the Phocian range was once upon a time by the force of violent earthquakes split into two great halves, which are

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separated from one another by the deep Plistus gorge: to the north the main body of the range, Parnassus; to the south, projecting into the sea, the mountain Cirphis. On either side the sundered walls fall precipitously towards the rivulet at their base.

On the side of Parnassus the vertical sides of the rocks loftily overtop the gorge, especially two bare chalk cliffs, about 900 feet in height, called the Phædriades or "gleaming rocks," probably on account of the reflected light of the sun; for they form together an obtuse angle, open towards the south. To the base of this rock clings the deciduous soil, thickly covered with rolling stones, and inclined at every agitation of the earth to slip down into the depth of the gorge, so that level terraces and secure surfaces for building could only be obtained by means of the erection of walls. Mighty blocks of stone, which have torn themselves away from the rocks above, lie scattered about, and warn against the danger threatening from that quarter. The atmosphere is close; heat and cold supervene in sudden changes. The wild grandeur of the scenery seems in general to have marked it out for a mountain solitude; nor would there appear to have been any intelligible reason for selecting this inconvenient mountainous recess for an Apolline settlement, were it not distinguished by a great abundance of water. From no less than three springs bubble up from the base of the Phædriades, at a short distance from one another, abundant streams of water, independent of the season of the year: Castalia out of the very mountain-cleft between the two rocky walls; farther to the west, Cassotis and Delphusa. Now, such mountain-springs were for the Greeks a sign above every other of a special divine blessing, and appeared to them necessarily to call for sacrificial and divine worship. The Greeks were aware that the original consecration of these altar-places was not due to Apollo. For the worship of Zeus, of the Earth-Mother, of Posidon Dionysus, and Athene, had been successively domesti-

cated here, until at last Apollo appeared in the midst of the deities assembled on this spot, and erected his laurel-hut by the cool waters of Cassotis. The prophetic god everywhere chose springs and rocky gorges in which to take up his abode and prophesy through the mouth of his sibyls. From different regions, from Crete as well as from Delos, arrived priestly families, whose pre-eminent capacities procured fame and authority for the Delphic tripod.

Delphi itself was no independent town, but merely a sanctuary in the city territory of Crisa, which had been founded by Cretans on a fair acclivity at the lower end of the Plistus gorge, in the midst of a luxuriant plain gently terraced off towards the bay. Crisa was the first commercial place and port in the Western Sea; from it the whole gulf was named; nor was there anywhere a more extensive knowledge of the world than among the Crisæan priesthood, which had founded the oracle in the mountains. Thus Delphi had already become a centre of higher culture and superior mental capacity when the Dorians settled at the base of Parnassus (see vol. i. pp. 110 ff.). A new epoch dated from this event. Delphi was placed in connexion with Tempe, the priesthood strengthened by fresh accessions, and the Thessalian popular federation transposed hither. The further the northern and western districts lagged behind in Hellenic culture, the more Delphi became the centre of Hellas in a more limited sense, the metropolis of Peloponnesus, the foundation of whose younger states was planned and directed from Delphi. Delphi became a Hellenic [i]nstead of a Crisæan sanctuary; it was withdrawn [f]rom the supreme control of its mother-city, and made [a]n independent community, governed by its priestly [f]amilies under the protectorate of the Amphictyonic [s]tates, whose duty it was to repel every attempt of [t]he Crisæans at re-asserting their ancient rights of [d]ominion, as well as all hostilities from any other [q]uarter.

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In the life of the Hellenic tribes a double impulse makes itself plainly manifest: the first is to advance, building cities and founding states, and to fall into constantly new divisions and formations by means of a multitude of settlements; the other enjoins a firm hold on what is common to all, fidelity to the manners of the past, and a consciousness of being *one* nation as opposed to all foreigners. As the nation continued to fall into numerous divisions, the latter of these two impulses had nothing to which to attach itself but the common sanctuary of the Pythian Apollo. In *his* statutes the national consciousness, which with the progress of civilisation necessarily continued to assume clearer and more sharply-defined forms, found its sole expression. At Delphi Dorians and Ionians, Spartans and Athenians, Corinthians and Thebans, felt themselves Hellenes; and as the whole story of Hellen, in which the feeling of fraternal relation and national union found its mythical expression, originated in the Amphictyonic sanctuaries, so too was the idea of nationality present to the eyes of all the single tribes and states, so was the idea of Hellenic usage and a common country established at Delphi. The *Omphalos*, or navel-stone, marked out the Pythian sanctuary as the spiritual centre of the Hellenes.

The power of the Delphic oracle and its priesthood.

It must be remembered that the whole independence and importance of Delphi was based on the feeling of a Hellenic communion; and that it perished as soon as the bonds of this union were loosened. For this reason, if for no other, the Delphic priesthood as a matter of course sought to preserve the idea of unity: this was their exalted mission, in the zealous performance of which all the members of their body emulated one another; some moved by pure patriotism, others by selfish considerations of personal gain. On account of its connexion with the Amphictyony it was the duty of the oracle to avert disputes between the tribes. Hence there existed an ancient law, that no Hellene and no Hellenic state might employ the

oracle against another: and though the latter had no right of calling the disputants before its tribunal, though it was never recognised by the single states as a standing federal court of appeal, yet, inasmuch as the Amphictyonic statutes had had their origin in the Apolline religion, it was regarded as a higher resort in all matters touching on rights common to all. As the Apolline system of prophecy essentially consisted in announcing the divine ordinances of Right—the laws of Zeus—the disputants, unless they were willing to fight out their quarrel by the sword, could find in that system a decision sure of the widest acceptance.

Yet sacred law, even more than international, belonged to the domain of the influence of Delphi. The effusion of blood not only endangers the quiet and security of the state, but also violates the divine order of the world, and only the organs of the gods are able to point out the way for restoring this violated order. Accordingly, the law concerning the guilt of blood was an essential part of the sacred law. It remained unwritten at a period when all other branches of law had already by writing been made public property; it was based on ancestral tradition, of which accurate information could only be obtained in the most ancient families. Wherever family ties are most closely preserved, religion also maintains her influence at the greatest height. These Attic families were intimately connected with the Pythian oracle, which chose out of the Attic Eupatridæ three men, called Exegetæ, or indicators of the Right, who had in the [redacted] of Apollo to determine what was the law in t[redacted] the expiation of one who had slain his [redacted] in similar cases. For Apollo himself was [redacted]xegete, the ultimate source of legality; [redacted]e the whole Hellenic people was able [redacted]iversally accepted and fixed basis of [redacted] questions concerning the founda- [redacted]ries and the institution of the [redacted]oes, and the dead, he sat as

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the native teacher of the law to all the world on his throne in the centre of the earth.

The power which had its seat at Delphi was a spiritual power; and the law taught and demonstrated there was a divine law. This law might come into conflict with human considerations and plans pursued in the single states. There was no lack of instances of this kind of opposition. They occurred, when, *e.g.*, a tyrant such as Clisthenes wished for political purposes arbitrarily to overthrow the ancient rites of divine worship, or when the Heraclidæ of Sparta put forward their private relation to the Pisistratidæ, in order to escape satisfying the demands of the Pythian god. In these cases the leading principle obtained at Delphi, that obedience to the gods must outweigh all other considerations, or, as Pylades the Crisæan, the representative of the Delphic sanctuary, expresses it in Æschylus,

"Count all the world thy foe, but not the gods."

The Greek poets, who chose the fate of the ancient royal houses for their theme, depicted the conflict between divine and human law, between dynastic arbitrary power and the immutable statutes of sacred tradition as represented by the divine seers; and doubtless many a royal power of the Heroic age perished under this conflict. But the more the Hellenic state advanced, the rarer these cases became. It was by no means in accordance with the nature of the Hellenes mentally to separate and view in the light of contrasts such institutions as the state and [illegible]gion, which in reality everywhere most intimately [illegible]ded one another. In this matter the Hellenes [illegible]d by their sound sense and felicitous desire [illegible] The priestly colleges took good care n[illegible] their influence on public affairs by [illegible] tensions; and in compensation fo[illegible] were very properly entrusted wit[illegible] ordinances which in no wise int[illegible] development of the single states[illegible]

a beneficent harmony among the numerous cities and states, a harmony which, had the common organ of the divine will been neglected, could only have been attained to in a very difficult and utterly imperfect manner by means of a multiplicity of special compacts.

This harmony extended to everything connected with the divine worship. Under the influence of the Delphic Amphictyony a definite number of national deities had been established (vol. i. p. 116). This canon was held fast: and by means of it the hankering after polytheism, the delight in new forms of religious worship, and the utter confusion of the religious consciousness, by means of excessive subdivision, were kept within salutary bounds. Every attempt to introduce new gods was accounted no less impious than any neglect of the old gods, or desecration of their festivals and altars. Besides, it must be conceded that, in the midst of the restless discursiveness of Hellenic polytheism, it was precisely the Apolline religion which unmoveably held fast the consciousness of the spiritual superiority of the King of the Gods, and with it the germ of a true religion. For Apollo announces to mankind what Zeus deems right; Apollo desires to be nothing but a prophet of the Most High, and in the name of Zeus he calls upon men to believe in his power and confide in his wisdom, although he may demand extraordinary performances from them, and send them forth into remote distances. But nowhere is even the possibility suggested of other gods having, besides the will of Zeus, a will of their own, which might be taken as a guide for moral action. Hence the oracle of Apollo attracted the minds of those who, dissatisfied with the confused superstition of the multitude, could not be without a god who is One, and rules in and over all, of men who said with Æschylus,

Religious and moral influence of Delphi.

> "Zeus is the earth and air, and Zeus the heavens;
> Yea, Zeus is all and what is over all."

By serving to keep up a higher standard as to conceptions of the gods, the oracle necessarily at the same

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time obtained an important influence over the moral consciousness of the nation. In these matters the Greeks were ever searching and inquiring. To them no code of laws had been handed down, no fixed standard given by which to determine the right and the wrong; accordingly it only remained for them to follow their consciences, and to endeavour by their own perception to discover what was good and what not. In this respect also the highest, nay, the only, principles which might in a certain sense be regarded as a Hellenic moral law, proceeded from the Apolline worship. For the latter alone emphatically declared every external exercise of religion worthless, so long as the heart and mind of men were not religiously disposed. Apollo did not sell his wisdom to every impertinent questioner. The pure god demanded a pure heart. For a symbol of internal purification was designed the act of sprinkling the person with the water of Castalia, collected in a large vessel before the entrance of the court of the temple for the use of the pilgrims. But "deceive not yourselves" (thus the Pythia addressed the pilgrims): "for the good, indeed, one drop of the sacred spring suffices, but from the bad no sea of water shall wash away the pollution of sin." Nor shall he who, notwithstanding, risks the discovery of his evil mind, tempt the holy god in vain. For none but the innocent is blessed by the god, whose sayings the wicked man cannot understand, for guile is upon his soul, and his misunderstanding of the oracle hurries him but the more rapidly to his ruin; as in the case of the Lydian king, who arrogantly desired to transgress the limits of his empire, and therefore interpreted the mysterious answer of the god according to the desires of his own perversity. In general, no questions may be asked except those harmonising with the god's own sentiments: *e.g.*, the mere question whether a suppliant should be taken out of a temple to be given up to his enemies of itself constitutes an impiety upon which the punishment must follow. The Spartiate Glaucus,

who had sought divine justification for an intended act of perjury, was doomed to perish with his whole house, although he had soon repented of his inquiry, returned the money the receipt of which he wished to deny, and craved the pardon of Apollo.

Such was the solemnity which characterised the attitude assumed by the god towards the Greeks, before whom, inclined by the foibles of their nature to live on from day to day in careless and selfish ease, he held up a truthful mirror. Examination and study of self were to precede every act of religious worship, as it was written up over the threshold of the temple in letters of gold. He who knows himself, knows at the same time the limits of his personality, his power, and his claims. Hence Apollo demands at once a wise moderation, the establishment of a firm rein over sensuality, and a strong command over the passions, and the prevalence of a sober calm in the mind. When it is remembered how through Apollo the female sex too attained to an honourable position as the organ of his will, how with him the weak and helpless find protection, the guilty expiation, and the evil-doers pardon, it is impossible not to recognise in how high a degree the Delphic god, through the mouth of his priests, taught and fostered what may be designated as the climax and flower of the moral national consciousness of the Hellenes. Thus far and no farther the people advanced in the conception of a spiritual religion.

The calendar.

At the same time everything belonging to the public worship of the gods lay within the circle of the Delphic authority, especially the management of the festivals; and in order that here, as well as in the recognition and veneration of the gods, a universal harmony might obtain, the Greek calendar fell under the superintendence of Delphi.

The year might of course be regarded from a simply civil point of view, and divided according to its natural course. In this way there were two halves of

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the year, one of summer and one of winter; *i.e.*, one dry and comparatively fair, and one uncertain and rainy season. This division it was endeavoured to fix more accurately, according to the rising and setting of the stars, especially of the Pleiades, and according to the migrations of the birds and other phenomena of nature: it guided the labours of agriculture, navigation, and fishing; and in common parlance everything used to be designed according to this year, which was supposed to begin with the spring, without even equal halves being marked out; for under the skies of Greece not more than four months could, in the above sense, be really called winter. Thus closely was the order of nature adhered to. And this method of expression was accordingly consistently adopted by the historians up to the time of Xenophon.

A more precise view of the subject was due to the priests. They regarded the year as a holy year, as a definite period of time in which a series of religious actions is to be repeated in fixed order: for in the order of the festivals nothing may be arbitrary and irregular. Accordingly, Apollo became the legislator of the year, as of so many other institutions; by his oracles were instituted the Greek months, the names of which are connected with the most ancient festivals. With the exception of the Phocæans, who, perhaps out of opposition to the Delphic authority, counted off their months in profane fashion, the Greek calendar contains only names of months derived from those of gods, and these the early gods of Greece. In Delphi itself, the fair season of the year belonged principally to Apollo, who returns with every spring-tide, and to his sister; and the winter to Dionysus. This alternation of religious worship is the foundation of the cycle of the months, as well as of their names; and, notwithstanding all the variety subsequently introduced into the calendars of the individual towns, the common consent underlying these is so undeniable, that we must assume this Hellenic festival-year to have been arranged at the same time

as the earliest Amphictyonic institutions. By it all the participating tribes were in a certain sense made one religious community.

Computation of the year.

A further proof of this lies in the fact that the oracle continued throughout to possess, unchallenged, the right of watching over the regularity of the festive sacrifices in the single communities. Every confusion of the calendar amounts to a deprivation of the gods, and must be expiated by a penitential sacrifice; the *Hieromnemones*, whose duty it was to maintain the religious relations between Delphi and the single states, were responsible for the legitimate order of the year. Priestly influence gave to the several days of the year their special significance; a distinction was drawn between good days and bad, such as to affect the daily life of the burgher and peasant; certain days of the month were consecrated to certain divinities: thus, *e.g.*, every third day to Athene, every seventh and every new moon to Apollo. Under the same influence the larger cycles of time were instituted, in which Greek science endeavoured to harmonise the contradictions between the lunar and solar years. In the worship of Apollo originated the *Great Year* of the Hellenes, a primitive intercalary period which recommenced with every ninth year. The religious character of this period is directly proved by the Apolline ordinance, according to which the murderer remained an exile and a homeless wanderer for eight full years before he might after expiation return with the laurel-branch: after every eighth year was moreover renewed the sacred festive procession which united together Tempe and Delphi. The Apolline festival-year comprehends ninety-nine months, which, combined as it were into a hecatomb, were consecrated to the god. This is the most reasonable and useful among the simpler and shorter intercalary periods. It lies at the foundation of all the national festivals of the Hellenes, for the quadrennial, as well as the biennial, festival-cycles merely resulted by means of division out of this great unity.

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Order of the festivals.

In no less a degree than the arrangement of the times of the festivals was that of their order itself a special object of the Delphic superintendence, and, like the sacrificial rites, instituted and maintained under the influence of the priests. Next to the sacrifice there were no more essential elements of Hellenic festivities than competitive games. True, there is nothing to justify us in recognising anything exclusively Hellenic in this. Thucydides expressly remarks that among the barbarians, especially in Asia, wrestling and boxing matches were customary from the earliest times; and Greek mythology, in mentioning Danaus and Pelops as the first founders of competitive games, in this point too recognises the influence of the immigrants from the other side of the sea. The germ received was here, however, in a most especial degree independently and popularly developed, and again under the purifying influence of the Apolline religion and its representatives.

When the Persians stood before Thermopylæ and there heard that the main body of the men of Greece was assembled at the Olympic games, the followers of Xerxes were not astonished at the Greeks holding such matches, nor at their holding them at such a time, but solely at their exerting themselves for no other prize than that of a wreath of leaves: so great was the ennobling and moral elevation preserved in the Greeks by the idea of these contests, that love of gain and all base impulses of selfishness were kept at a distance. This loftier conception was due to the religion which refused to behold the vicinity of the god and the courts of his temple desecrated by a struggle for vulgar gain. In how high a degree this feeling was dictated by consideration for the god is at once manifest from the wreath being taken from the tree sacred to him. The honour attending upon the receiver of the wreath is accordingly this: that by means of the sacred branch he is brought nearer to, and made the servant of, the god. The wreaths them-

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selves, or the tripods, wherever these sacred vessels were used as prizes, are left behind by the victor in the sanctuary of the deity. In short, the whole transaction is dedicated to the gods. Before their eyes the flower of the people appears in the fulness of joy and vigour. For, however solemnly Apollo may urge upon mortals his ethical demands, it is not his wish to mar their enjoyment of life. His oracles ordain truthfulness of soul and self-command, but no despairing remorse, no abnegation of human nature. The rights of the senses are recognised, and the intention is merely to establish the just balance between the sensual and spiritual nature, in order to allow the whole man to develope himself in the fulness of health. The gods of the Hellenes love that alone which is healthful, vigorous, and strong; nor is anything more repugnant to them than the view of the barbarians, who thought to gratify the gods by making miserable their own existence, or even by the mutilation of their bodies. For every priestly person a faultless body was the first condition of eligibility: a condition which, according to sacred law, also existed for Hellenic royalty and the offices derived from the latter; as, *e.g.*, the Attic archonship. As, then, the persons in the immediate service of the divinity, as the animals and fruits of the earth which were offered up to the gods, were each, after its fashion, to be of blameless perfection, so too was the youth of the land, when presenting itself to the gods, in their honour joyously to unfold all its gifts of body and soul; while those marked out as the best were to receive the sacred wreath as a token of their worthiness to approach the gods in a pre-eminent degree. From this point of view the whole culture of the Hellenic people was conceived and ordered.

The competitive games.

We know of no Greeks without competitive games. In all the tribes of the nation the impulse existed towards advancing the development of their innate powers by the charm of competition. How, the Ionians above all adorned even their peaceful

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national festivals by exercises of contest Homer shows, in his description of the Phæaces, that charming mirror of Ionic life. A fixed system, however, in which the peculiar Hellenic element developed itself in this matter also, first came to be established in the Dorian states; first in Crete and subsequently in Sparta.

In these the security of the state was based on the vigour of the Dorian troops; and it was accordingly a matter of pressing importance for the commonwealth to provide for their military efficiency, and to train them from their youth up for their calling. Here the first Greek training-schools were established, in which bodily exercise was alone contemplated, because a development of the powers of the mind was utterly opposed to the design of the legislators (vol. i. p. 181). Here especially the exercises of running, leaping, wrestling, and throwing the spear and the discus, were brought to a perfection of style which was afterwards universally adopted among the Hellenes: here fixed ethical rules were first introduced, which excluded every wild passion and enjoined the strictest obedience to the laws of the contest as a duty: here the principle of forbidding the youthful ambition to be desecrated by any consideration of gain was established: here finally came into use, in contrast to the flowing robes of the Ionians, a short and light dress for men, which was to promote the health and agility of the body, and form a transition to the state of complete nakedness which was introduced in the exercises of the young.

Influence of the federal sanctuaries and national festivals.

These Creto-Spartan principles spread during the period of Spartan dominion in Peleponnesus, and under their influence the Olympian games were instituted. As in Peloponnesus a systematic federation of states arose out of the confusion following upon the migrations of the peoples, so the Olympic games also first attained to a fixed system and national significance as a common Peloponnesian festival. Hence

the especial dignity and the position of Olympia as a primary type, notwithstanding the greater age of the common sanctuary at Delphi.

But not even in Olympia did the Dorian influence continue in sole possession of the authority. The preferences of the other tribes, the new tendencies of the time, were taken into consideration, and space allowed for a freer development (vol. i. pp. 240, 260). It was inadmissible to lag behind the festive games of the rest. For in this matter also a rivalry ensued, which prevented any one-sidedness. There existed a multitude of sanctuaries in the Greek land, whence issued forth an impulse towards mental culture and popular exercise of the mental powers. Thus, in the land of Arcadia, Artemis Hymnia was from a primitive age highly venerated by all Arcadians. Her feasts were celebrated with songs, and from her temple went forth those ordinances which made the cultivation of music incumbent as a sacred duty upon all the inhabitants of the land, as being the only means by which men dwelling on the rude highlands, and compelled to work hard for their daily bread, might be preserved from spiritual hebetation and barbarism. Thus the federal sanctuaries operated in favour of Hellenic culture.

In this respect also an especial importance attached to Delphi, under whose sanction the Olympic festival had been established, which at the beginning of the sixth century (vol. i. p. 265), when the Ionic race reasserted its full vital power, after the Sacred War, reappeared in new splendour. Unobserved and quietly Delphi had cherished the nobler germs of Hellenic civilisation. Here the celebration of the god from the inspired lips of poets had been held fast as the highest aim of a praiseworthy rivalry, and this music competition ever remained at Delphi the main and crowning portion of the festival. Immediately after the brilliant revival of the Pythian festival, two new Hellenic feasts were founded in Hellas, the Isthmian (Ol. 49, 3) and the Nemean games (Ol. 51, 4). These

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again were merely the revivals of earlier popular festivals. Both revivals belong precisely to the time of the overthrow of the Cypselidæ at Corinth, and of the Orthagoridæ at Sicyon. This coincidence cannot have been the effect of mere chance. In the Nemesian valley it was the memory of Adrastus and his companions-in-arms, whom Clisthenes had endeavoured to extinguish, which was celebrated. And since a particular occasion must have given rise to the foundation of these festivals, and since the usual occasion was nothing more than a successful victory, it is exceedingly probable that both festivals were intended to celebrate the overthrow of the two most dangerous dynasties of Tyrants. They were monuments of victory set up by the Spartans in the Dorian interest; they were to serve to glorify anew the Dorian peninsula, as the proper land of the Hellenes, and to dispute the first place with the festival by the Parnassus, where the influence of the Ionians predominated.

However, although in this matter the jealousy of the different tribes exerted its influence, yet there existed a higher power which at these divine festivals harmonised the differences between the tribes and dissolved them into a loftier unity. For although political contrasts and border-jealousy might keep individual states away from certain feasts, as, *e.g.*, the Achæans from Olympia, yet the festivals could never lose their original Amphictyonic character, which consisted precisely in excluding no one entitled to bear the Hellenic name from participation in them. Only under this condition the oracle had given its sanction to the new Peloponnesian foundations; and although the Isthmian games, as organised anew, were intended to celebrate and immortalise the victory of the Dorian party at Corinth, they still remained a feast of Melicertes and Posidon, in which the maritime tribes, and particularly the Attic Ionians, participated with a special interest and eagerness. In this respect accordingly the great festivals were distinguished by their

Amphictyonic and national character from all city and state feasts, which wore the colour of a particular country, and at which strangers were only regarded as guests of the state. These local festivals, however, helped to spread the principles and customs of the national, to kindle a general rivalry, and introduce everywhere the same agonistic rules. The splendour of their festivals became the standard of the power, culture, and prosperity of the single communities: and of all periods none was more decisive and fruitful for the vigorous growth of the Hellenic agonistic art than that which followed upon the fiftieth Olympiad.

Popular culture.

Of course in such an interchange those Hellenes learnt and gained the most who always manifested the greatest receptivity and activity. These were the Ionians. And whilst the Asiatic Ionians lived a life of careless enjoyment, to the Athenians the situation of their small territory, the vicinity of Corinth, Ægina, and Megara, and their adverse relations with Sparta, which began very early, pointed out the necessity of learning from the Dorians. In the latter they perceived the results attainable by the discipline of law and a strict system of education for the citizens. Hence they so eagerly made themselves masters of the gymnastic art developed in Crete and Sparta, that before long it was said everywhere in Greece that an efficient master of the gymnastic art was best sought at Athens. The Athenians in the fullest measure appropriated to themselves the national influence of the Amphictyonic festivals; and by retaining the peculiarities of the Ionic character, but at the same time supplementing its weaknesses and defects in emulation of the other tribes, became the purest representatives of the Hellenic character.

Such, then, was the development of the idea of Hellenic popular culture, which more than anything else distinguishes the Greeks from the barbarians of ancient and modern times—the idea of a culture comprehending body and soul in an equal measure.

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For it was overlooked that man consists of two unequal halves, endowed with an unequal measure of rights, of which one only, the spiritual, needs a special culture. The Greeks could not conceive of a healthy mind in a sick body, of a serene soul in a neglected and unwieldy covering. The just balance of the spiritual and physical powers, the harmonious development of all natural powers and impulses, formed the task of education for the Hellenes; and hence a vigorous agility and elasticity of limb, endurance in running and in the contest, a firm and light step, a free and sure bearing, freshness of health, a clear and animated eye, and that calm and imperturbable presence of mind which is only learnt from daily habits of danger; all these advantages seemed to the Greeks to equal mental culture, acuteness of judgment, and practice in the arts of the Muses. The music and gymnastic arts were inseparably connected, in order to train from generation to generation a youth healthy in body and soul. This was the foundation of the prosperity of the states. Accordingly, all over Greece, even in other states besides Sparta and Crete, this double education was not left to the arbitrary decision of the single families, but was ordered and fostered by the state. It was impossible to imagine a Hellenic city without public gymnasia, abounding in large and sunny spaces for exercise, surrounded by halls and avenues of trees, usually situate outside the gates, in the midst of rural scenery and by the side of running water. Whoever wished to claim authority and influence among his fellow-citizens must have spent the greater part of his time up to the attainment of the maturity of manhood in the gymnasia. Only here was it possible to acquire that free and sure bearing which at the first glance distinguished the well-educated man from him who had grown up in the workshop, and which was the mark of one qualified to take a part in public affairs. Here the young Hellene found an oppor-

tunity, in daily emulation, freely and perfectly to develope his whole personality, in contrast to the barbarians, among whom the numerical principle predominates, and a single man is only by special circumstances enabled to attain to an independent individuality. On the other hand, however, the desire for independent and free self-assertion was moderated by the severity of discipline. For the youths went through their exercises under the superintendence of the law, which demanded the recognition of a fixed order, obedience towards superiors, and renunciation of every arbitrary selfishness. The same system of ordinances prevailed in all Hellenic wrestling-schools: rude strength was nowhere recognised; for none were admitted to a share in the festive games who had not, according to Hellenic custom, artistically trained their strength. Nor was any one held worthy of the highest human honour known to the Hellenes, of the Olympian or Pythian wreath, who had not completely submitted himself to all the sworn laws of the contest. Thus the Palæstra became at the same time a school of morality, a school of the virtue which the Hellenes accounted the highest—viz. wise moderation of self, or *Sophrosyne*. For as the Hellenes had before their eyes no divine law, the fulfilment of which they could designate as the real essence of human virtue and piety, they could only define the latter according to the boundaries separating it from that which plainly manifested itself as wrong and sin. But as the blackest sin of all was deemed to be the criminal arrogance of the man who refuses to recognise any limit of his personal will as towards the gods and his neighbour, the first of virtues was in consequence the recognition of this limit, the pious fear of any improper assumption, and the wise observance of the right measure, in all things. Hellenic virtue consists in measure; and how this doctrine also was peculiarly acknowledged at Delphi is proved by the circumstance

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that by the side of the "Know thyself" there stood written as a second proverb over the porch of the Delphic temple, "Measure in all things." It is not the fault of the Hellenes that they were unable to give a fuller meaning to the idea of virtue. But it is their merit that with clear consciousness they secured the fixed points to which they had once attained, and with souls ever eager for inquiry followed every glimmering of eternal light.

The popular festivals.

But the temple festivals, besides being intended for those who had come forth from their native wrestling-schools with an ardour of contest aiming at the loftiest end, were from the first the assemblage of the surrounding population, which, rid of the labours of the day, came together for social enjoyment. The more harmless and peaceable and the more inclined to mutual communication the population, the more easy did this communication become, and the more frequented and lively were these assemblies. While, then, the tribes of the interior, separated by mountain-ranges from the rest, remained secluded within their valleys and rural districts, the coasts and islands easily enabled the Ionic barks to effect meetings. For this reason Delos appears as the first theatre of a splendid popular festival, whither for the Apolline celebration of the spring the Ionians in joyous pilgrimage bring their wives and children, where they rejoice in dance and song, exhibit their treasures, and enjoy the variety of the human throng around them. Such was an Ionian *panegyris*, in which the common sacrifices were accompanied by a merry meeting, and at the same time, as was inevitable with a shrewd trading people, by an interchange of wares and objects of art, by a brisk fair.

As this fashion of Ionic festive intercourse was also adopted at the Amphictyonic festivals, the various tribes, Dorians and Ionians, men of the interior and of the sea, came into an unfettered communion, which was preserved from every disturbance by the

proximity of the god and the sacred character of his peace. Both in Olympia and in Delphi the fair was of great importance; but no festive locality was naturally better adapted for the purpose than the Isthmus. For whoever went to Olympia undertook his journey on account of the festival and divine worship. But the Isthmus was situated so exactly in the centre of commercial intercourse and in the meeting-point of all the routes by land and by sea, that a visit to the festival, the time for which was intentionally placed at the beginning of the most favourable season, could be most conveniently combined with a commercial journey. The Isthmian fair was a mart of exchange for all Hellas, and for industrious men of business there existed no better place at which to open new connexions and arrange commercial relations already begun. At these festive localities, accordingly, all matters first developed themselves which belonged to the reception and entertainment of strangers, such as inns, halls of assembly, trading-booths, &c.

Services of Delphi to civilisation and colonisation.

In proportion as the character of the festivals became national, the authorities of the places of pilgrimage had to take measures for facilitating access from all sides. An interest in these matters was, in the first place, excited by the priestly families, and the Amphictyonic officers became its champions. The question was not merely as to the security of the vicinity, which was frequently exposed to the attacks of robbers on account of the wealth flowing in to the temples, but also as to the construction of roads. For as the prosperity of the Greek cities grew, not only the numbers of the festive guests, but also the splendour of the processions, increased. It was not pilgrims only who passed along the roads to the sacred places, but the states took part officially by means of festive embassies, which arrived on vehicles adorned with wreaths and laden with gifts and sacred utensils. It was necessary that these vehicles should arrive at their goal without danger or delay: every accident would have appeared

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in the light of an evil omen. After the chariot races came into vogue, these equally necessitated good carriage-roads, which it was not easy to make in a rocky locality like Delphi.

Thus arose the sacred roads, along which the gods themselves were said to have first passed, as Apollo once came through pathless tracks to Delphi. He was followed in the first place by his ministers, as in the case of the Athenians, the pioneering sons of Hephæstus, "taming for him the rude land's wilderness." Hence the art of road-making and of building bridges, which deprived the wild mountain streams of their dangers, took its first origin from the national sanctuaries, especially from those of Apollo. And as on the rocky soil of Greece a style of carriage-roads became usual consisting of ruts hollowed out in the rock, on which the carriage-wheels could conveniently and easily roll along, it was necessary to establish the same gauge for all the temple-roads in the whole of Greece, since otherwise the festive as well as the racing chariots would have been prevented from visiting the various sanctuaries. And since, as a matter of fact, as far as the influence of Delphi extended the same gauge of 5ft. 4in. demonstrably prevailed, not merely the extension, but also the equalisation, of the network of Greek roads took its origin from Delphi. The Amphictyonic states had, each in its own territory, to keep the roads and bridges in repair; the sanctity of the temple extended to the roads leading to it; it was sacrilege to attack the carriages passing along them: and so, together with this uniformity of gauge, the blessings of the temple, peace, spread over the whole land, and, locally also, united all places of Hellenic worship into one community.

The agency of the Apolline oracle was, however, not confined to preserving the communion between the existing sanctuaries. Rather, there prevailed in the religion of Apollo an untiring desire to extend its circle, and send out new missions. Accordingly, the

fact that no colony was sent out without the sanction of the god is not to be explained by the general reflection that the Hellenes never undertook a work of importance and difficulty without the gods; but the whole matter of colonisation stood under the special guidance of Apollo, and this to such a degree that it was accounted impious to found a colonial city beyond the sea without orders from him, and impossible for one so founded to prosper. In this instance, too, it is easy to see how the Greeks in their colonisation followed the Phœnicians. Heracles-Melcart was the sovereign ruler in all Tyrian colonies, from whom he received his fixed gifts of honour, for neglecting which the Carthaginians believed they paid the penalty in the loss of Sicily.

Of the religious character belonging to the Hellenic colonies the first proof is this, that the first act of the settlers on the new shore was no other than the erection of an altar to Apollo, just as the Cretans on landing at Crisa with one of these altars commenced the whole history of the Delphic land. As Delphinius, Apollo is of course the god of the sea and the coasts: according to the representations of ancient art he hovers, playing on his lyre, with his quiver closed, on the winged tripod over the sea, a god of peace and prosperity, which he is eager to bear across even to the shores of the barbarians. He demands of his servants the spread of his worship even when it is accompanied with danger. With a power extending over people and land, he ordains that a part of the civic youth be levied and despatched to a certain place abroad. The emissaries stand under his particular protection, and are regarded as sacred persons; as, *e.g.*, the Chalcidians who emigrated to Rhegium. Similarly Metapontium and Croton, and the Corinthian Apollonia, were founded under the special protection of the god: the settlers on the further coast continue to belong immediately to the god, and, as a sign of their lasting dependence, to send without interruption the tithe of

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their harvests into the Delphic treasury; or, instead of the real harvest-tithe, they send the tribute in gold —the "golden summer." From Delphi exhortations reach the dwellers by the Corinthian gulf, bidding them confidently attach themselves to the men who drink the waters of Arethusa; and that the eastern settlements of the Chalcidians were equally effected under the authority of the same god is directly proved by the lyre of Apollo constituting the common stamp on the coinage of all the Thracian Chalcidians.

The explanation of the vivid interest taken by the Delphic priesthood in Greek colonisation is not only to be found in their religious zeal, and in a provident care for the single states which were to be protected against over-population and internal disturbances, but above all in the increase in honour, power, and profit which accrued to the holy throne of Apollo from every advance of colonisation. Every rising colony was a grateful daughter of Apollo, and a new monument of his provident and far-seeing wisdom. And the nature of the Apolline institutions explains why the Delphic priesthood was called to, and qualified for, the superintendence of this great national concern. These institutions were themselves originally colonies of tribes from across the sea—missionary stations, which lay scattered about in the midst of strangers, and whose support lay afar off: hence they were from the first obliged to attempt a comprehensive survey, and in order to support their own power to enter into and to maintain relations with remote points. This tendency was subsequently held fast and developed by the same priesthoods, after the lands in their immediate vicinity had been pervaded by an equal degree of culture. It was one of their chief tasks to amass all attainable information concerning countries and nations, and thus to find the means of pointing out the right courses to the colonising impulse of the Hellenes, and by wise guidance preventing a useless waste of power and a dangerous tendency towards dissipating

the vigour of the nation. It is only necessary to pursue the history of the colonies in order to recognise the higher intelligence which prevailed in this matter. Herein lies perhaps the greatest and most permanent service rendered by the Delphic oracle.

Maritime trade.

The exercise of this influence was, however, not confined to Delphi alone; but as Hellenic colonisation had two civic, so also it had two religious, centres. Miletus was, like Chalcis, an Apolline city; and the sanctuary of the Branchidæ, close to the Didymæum, doubtless possessed a significance for the Milesian colonisation similar to that of Delphi for the Eubœan, with only this difference, that in Ionia civilisation had much sooner equalised itself, and that accordingly the oracle there in historical times was never able to assert so dominant and legislative an influence as Delphi possessed in the European country.

The question in this matter was, however, not only as to the objects of colonisation; but long before the latter had begun to spread in this grand and connected fashion, the holy places of the land were centres of an extensive commercial intercourse, which found peace and security in the sacred ports, on the sacred roads, and in the vicinity of the temples, whilst in the rest of the world a wild law of force prevailed. With the festive assemblies, as we have seen, were combined the first trading fairs: at these men first became acquainted with the multiplicity of natural products, and the most remunerative methods of mercantile exchange; at these the relations were opened which united different commercial towns in uninterrupted intercourse, and thus first occasioned the establishment of depôts of goods beyond the sea, and afterwards the foundation of towns. Thus, besides the Milesian and Delphic sanctuary, especially the temple on Delos, the Heræum at Samos, and the Artemisium at Ephesus, became the starting-points of an imposing maritime commerce. The religious sense and the spirit of commerce, both so powerful in the Hellenic nation, here penetrated

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one another in a remarkable degree; the gods became the patrons of the traders, of whom none sailed past Delos without landing and worshipping at the altar of Apollo. Nor was there any lack of superstitious customs, such as the flogging of the altar, by which means the blessings of trade were, as it were, to be wrung out of the gods.

The monetary system.

In addition to this, the gods were the first capitalists in the land, their temples the first financial institutions, and their priests the first to understand the power of capital. With the consecration of the locality of worship commence the dedicatory gifts; hence the treasury of the god is occasionally much older than the temple. The former grows by means of a wise administration of the revenues; the first masses of precious metals are collected here, and preserved under the threshold of the divine edifice or in the court of the temple. The merchants entrust their money to the care of the priests, because they can nowhere find a securer place for it; and the priests are sagacious enough not to let the money lie idle. They advance sums for undertakings of greater importance; they claim a certain proportion of the money entrusted to them as interest: and thus the temples become centres of a wider money business. Actually they exercised an essential influence on the equalisation of specie, on the trustworthiness of the coinage, and the penal prohibition of every kind of forgery. Apollo, who was at home in the East as well as in the West, was the proper mediator between the coasts of the Archipelago. The gold standard of Asia Minor was first introduced in Eubœa (vol. i. pp. 256, 339), and spread far into the West by the Chalcidians simultaneously with the religion of Apollo. With this is connected the uniformity in weights and measures.

The power of gold, on which already the grandeur of the Homeric princes is based, passed from the Anactes of the Heroic age to Delphi. The wolves, it was said—*i.e.* those driven about from place to place in the unceasing consciousness of guilt—first brought

gold to Delphi; it was the gold for the expiation granted, and the peace of soul restored, to them. With the gold-producing countries of Asia Delphi maintained a lively intercourse; and when the Spartans needed gold with which to ornament their colossus of Apollo on the Thornax, they enquired at Delphi as to the best source of gold, and were directed to Crœsus. It was by this appropriation on the part of the oracle priests, in addition to the authority of religious holiness and the superior weight of mental culture, of the material aids of trade and prosperity, that such a place as Delphi could attain to its comprehensive and penetrating influence on all Greek affairs. The establishment of the temple served instead of mercantile societies, which conduct the extension and disposition of international commerce from comprehensive points of view and with effective vigour; it served instead of public banks, which afford security, coherence, and firmness to the money business, and provide the necessary means for the rise of industry and trade. Thus the Delphic Apollo was able, from his central position, to overlook the Hellenic world, to assign their direction and route to voyages of discovery of enterprising merchants in the pathless seas, to give instructions to the emigrants as to their settlements, and to maintain a connexion between himself and the older cities on the one hand, and the new establishments on the other. He was the lord of Greek colonisation, as Melcar was of Phœnician; and thus became the founder of colonial law, and the highest authority in legal questions at issue between mother-cities and their colonies.

World-wide influence of Delphi;

This world-wide influence obtained by the oracle necessarily led to a position of ever-extending authority. The localities of the oracles became places where knowledge of various kinds was collected, such as could not be met with elsewhere; and since among the Hellenes more than in the case of any other people mental culture and power went hand in hand with the wisdom of the priests, the sovereign majesty of the god of the

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oracle increased. Whilst it was not otherwise a Hellenic custom to take any trouble about learning foreign languages and dialects, the priests of the oracle and the sibyls were heard to speak Carian and Libyan. The topographical knowledge of the priests was so accurate, that they were always able to ascribe the ill success of a colony, for which it was endeavoured to make them responsible, to a misunderstanding of the divine words. Thus the god remained perfectly in the right as towards the Cyrenæans: for if they complained as to the meagre result of their first settlement, the fault lay in their having, notwithstanding the divine command, lacked the courage to cultivate the mainland itself; and if they afterwards longed at Cyrene for the luxuriant garden-land of Irasa lying opposite them, they were wrong again, for this fall of the valley was not adapted for a great city, and the oracle knew that for a Libyan settlement a lofty and open situation and a "sky pierced with holes"—*i. e.* a locality where atmospheric precipitants operated—was indispensable. It cannot have been but that in the plans of the oracles all shipping news was very accurately preserved in writing, that the results of all new voyages were placed side by side, and that it was endeavoured by means of maps of the different countries to understand the situation of the coast-lines already occupied, as well as of those still vacant and suited for settlements. Such attempts had been frequently made at the priestly centres of ancient geographical knowledge, before at Miletus the art of chartography was developed and Anaximander introduced tabular maps of the earth into the circle of physical science. The oracles were in every respect not only the provident eye, not only the religious conscience, of the Greek nation, but they were also its memory.

its services to Geography

and History.

Religion, we know, was everywhere the one thing permanent and fixed in the quick change of human generations. In and near the sanctuaries the most ancient traditions were preserved: hence it was the

mission of the directors of the sacred establishments to maintain the connexion between the generations; and when Plato, in his *Laws*, says that the memorial tablets of the commonwealth ought to be placed in the sanctuaries, he only follows a universal Hellenic custom. For, in the first instance, no better place existed for the protection of all documents against thieves or mutilators. Thus, of Odysseus mythology already relates how he wrote down the compact concluded by him with the herdsmen of his steeds at the base of a statue of Posidon. Moreover, the federal sanctuaries—such as Delphi, Olympia, the Italian Lacinium, the Panionium, &c.—were of course the chosen places for the preservation of all written memorials relating to affairs of common interest. Finally, the priests had themselves to write down many things, both as to the rites of worship and the forms of prayer, and as to the personages and events with which the sanctuary had been brought into contact. Accordingly, the priesthoods of the national sanctuaries were officers of many and diverse occupations; and—as it was their business to keep a most accurate account of the revenues of the divinities and of the moneys and treasures entrusted to their care, to preserve carefully the answers given, and to arrange in order the events of contemporary history of importance for their purposes—everything connected with arithmetic and writing at an early date reached a great perfection amongst them: so that in this respect also they necessarily exercised an important influence on the advance of Greek civilisation.

The priestly documents.

A nation endowed, like the Hellenes, with poetic feeling and a lively imagination, is not wont by nature to have any great love of writing. The greater their affection for the living word, the fuller their knowledge and development of its power, the less they thought of being able to find a compensation for it in mute characters. However early, then, the Ionians in their love of knowledge adopted the invention of writing, they did this for very different purposes than that of

The use of writing amongst the Greeks.

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the communication of thought. The characters were used for such objects as indicating in commercial transactions the value and number of the individual articles, and for writing down names and formulæ to the unchanged preservation of which value was attached. The word itself seemed to the Greeks to be dead and lifeless as soon as it had passed into written characters. The long resistance opposed by their natural feelings against a more extended use of writing is evident from the fact that they never possessed a perfectly expressive word for the idea of writing in their copious language, and that for the idea of reading they never had anything beyond the circumlocutory and clumsy expression which signifies "to recognise." For "writing" the word had to suffice which also signifies "to paint;" and, in point of fact, the characters on the vase-pictures of the Greeks are rather painted on as an ornament than suited for the purpose of explanatory designation. In precisely the same way the characters appear on the coins, sparingly employed like small pictures. The larger monuments with inscriptions show how for centuries writing was practised under constant changes and without any facility; and the earliest literary works prove most incontestably that between the time of the poetical composition and that of putting it into writing there lay an interval of centuries, during which the language might undergo essential changes. Moreover, many usages of public life—such as the proclamations before the people, the earlier modus of election, &c.—indicate how late the Greeks accustomed themselves to the employment of writing. Most convincingly is this proved by the circumstance that, in the period when writing was a matter of the most general usage, written characters were still looked upon as something foreign, and called "Phœnician symbols."

Yet even in this matter the Greeks were by no means content with adopting the foreign invention unchanged. After this, the noblest fruit of Oriental

civilisation, which was developed among the Egyptians with so admirable a sense of form and so copious an inventiveness, had been adapted to the daily intercourse of mankind and transformed in a practical sense by the sagacious Phœnicians, the Ionians, while following them most closely in retaining the Phœnician alphabet, and the form, order, and significance of sound, and partly even the names of the letters (as, *e.g.*, *Beta* for *Beth*, *Theta* for *Tet*), at the same time, with their higher sense of form, gave a superior elegance to the characters themselves, transformed writing into an art, and altered its direction on the page.

Hieratic writing.

In this matter the operation of the influence of religion is clearly recognisable. The Greek who observed the heavens, in expectation of a divine sign, turned his face towards the north; the right side accordingly was the fortunate side for him, because it was that of the morning and of light. Thither the hopeful glance of the seer turned; thither all movements had to be directed whence good results were anticipated. As, then, in prayer men turned to the right, so also the cup at the sacrificial banquet, the helmet containing the lots, the cither destined to praise the gods, were passed round to the right. Odysseus, for the sake of the favourable omen, moved round to the right through the assemblage of the suitors. Even his cloak the Greek threw to the right round his shoulder. And since this whole conception of the Hellenes had originated from a religious point of view, it is also probable that the priests caused Hellenic writing, after some hesitation, decisively to adopt the direction from left to right, a direction which was probably first established when sacred formulæ were written down. This was particularly observed in secret forms of worship, the documents of which were, *e.g.*, preserved in Pheneus, between great stone lids, as in a tabernacle. In this instance writing served rather the purpose of concealment than of publication. The materials for writing again point to its having come to

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be adopted under the influence of the priests. This view is not only borne out by the use of copper, which was especially devoted to religious purposes, but still more clearly by the employment of skins, especially by the Ionians. For originally the skins of sacrificial victims were used to write down upon them sacred ordinances and treatises; answers of the Pythian oracle were also written upon sheepskins, prepared like parchment, and thus collected. This we must imagine to have been the form of the collections of Onomacritus.

Writing was domesticated among the European Greeks at various places independent of one another; above all, in Bœotia, in connexion with the worship of Apollo. The earliest "Cadmean" written characters were exhibited in the sanctuary of the Ismenian Apollo at Thebes, on the tripods erected there, to which they were added as documents of the foundation, authorising the god's tenure of his property. Furthermore prayers, especially imprecatory prayers and curses, were written down in solemn form by the priests, in order, by their exhibition, to prevent crimes; and, finally, they used writing to employ moral precepts, expressed in the shortest form possible, as ornaments of the house of the god. The value attached in this respect to the use of writing is best shown by the decoration of the Delphic temple of Apollo.

Chronology and Annals.

A further important application of writing was the cataloguing of the names of the priests who had succeeded one another in office. It was all the more natural that such lists should be kept, inasmuch as nothing was more deeply inherent in the sense of the Greek religion than the desire to demonstrate the unbroken succession from generation to generation, and the immutable fixedness of the sacred worship as contrasted with the mutability of human affairs. Thus, *e.g.*, a list was kept of the priestesses at Argos, and, on account of their priestly dignity, also of the kings of Sparta. It became customary to divide and distinguish periods

of time according to the endurance of priestly official dignities. This was followed by the adoption of the further usage of noting remarkable occurrences which easily escape the memory, and might be falsely represented by oral tradition, by the side of the priestly names to whose times they belonged; and thus arose historical archives, chronicles of the temple, a rich storehouse of historical information. Among these priestly notes must finally also be numbered the lists of the names of those who had been victorious in the national games, and thus acquired the right of being known and named, whilst the names of the priests, kings, and magistrates enjoyed authority only within the limited territory of a particular state. Hence it became usual to designate such events as possessed an importance beyond the boundaries of a single state according to Olympic victories. Although this method of computation by Olympiads never passed into the civil life of the single cities and states, yet at all events it supplied an important starting-point for a common history, and provided historical science with a technical work of chronology, helping her to arrange in comprehensive order contemporaneous events in the remote departments of the history of the individual Greek states.

But not only was historical inquiry supplied by the national sanctuaries with its materials and the beginnings of a determinate chronology, but at the same time the conception and representation of historical events could not withdraw themselves from the influence of the priestly institutions. The more that the Pythian Apollo was regarded as the supreme counsellor and guide of the Hellenic communities, and that their welfare was believed to depend on the faithful observance of his statutes and ordinances, the more eager were the endeavours to discover and demonstrate this truth in history. In other words, the priesthood attempted to prove from actual events the literal accomplishment of Apolline

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prophecies, the sure prosperity of the communities obedient to Apollo, the unwearying providence of the god for those who confided themselves to his care, and the precipitous fall of those who, blinded by sinful passion, offered resistance to him. Thus the history of the Greek families and states came to be systematically represented in a manner edifying according to the sense of the religion of Apollo, and dictated by theocratic interests. It is known to what a degree even the historical books of Herodotus are composed from these religious points of view, and how clearly whole series of events, such as the foundation of Cyrene, the fortunes of the Cypselidæ, or the end of the Mermnadæ, have been artistically elaborated, so as to tend to a glorification of the oracle of Apollo. And it was long before Greek historical writing freed itself from this tendency. To a people full of poetic feeling a method of representation of this kind, pervaded by religious fervour and deeply affecting the soul, which everywhere established a miraculous connexion between divine wisdom and the fortunes of mankind, was far more welcome than a purely rational and colourless view of events.

Appropriation of foreign culture.

The influence of Egypt.

Finally, in treating of the influence of the institutions of the oracles on Hellenic science, it should not be forgotten that their own interests forbade the priests of the oracles to neglect attaching to their service all the culture and science the possession of which promised them power and influence; and this as well from abroad as from the various countries inhabited by the Greek nation. In the great sanctuaries, which were the centres of Greek commerce with the world, the prominent phases of Oriental culture were earliest displayed to the Greeks, who were wise enough not to refuse, from any motive of one-sided Hellenism, to recognise and enter into advantageous relations with them. It is well known how Zeus Ammon was acknowledged by the Hellenic oracles as their equal, and how he was especially honoured by

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the cities (such as Sparta, Athens, and Thebes) and by the families (such as the Ægidæ) which were most closely attached to the Pythian god. As soon as Egypt was opened to the Greeks, Delphi gained a great influence in the land of the Nile. Nowhere did the priests, who wandered about after the burning of the temple, meet with more abundant support from princes and citizens than in Egypt; and although it is impossible to ascertain in detail how much in those branches of knowledge in which the Egyptians surpassed the Greeks, above all in the departments of geometry, arithmetic, mechanics, astronomy, and chronometry, was communicated to the Hellenes by means of those sanctuaries, yet in general the high respect paid by the most cultivated Greeks to Egyptian antiquity was authorised by the Greek oracles. Æsop, the negro slave, the representative of the Egyptian beast-fable, is said to have first become known to the Greek world at Delphi, and the colleges of the Delphic priests were for a long time unceasingly engaged in offering compensation for the injuries suffered by him as a stranger at Delphi, in expiating his death, and honouring his memory among the Hellenes.

The doctrine of the immortality of the soul.

But in all Egyptian antiquity nothing was worthier of calling forth veneration than the belief in the divine origin of the soul, in its imperishable nature, and in the personal responsibility resting upon it. This belief was the best element in the spiritual life of the Egyptians, and the germ of their noblest and grandest efforts of thought and action. The Greeks themselves, on the other hand, were too zealous searchers after truth, and their general conceptions of the nature of the soul too uncertain, for it to have been possible for them to resist the impressions of an earnest doctrine of immortality, supported by deep conviction. Nor is there any doubt but that intuitive perceptions of this kind existed in the Greek nation before it came into contact with Egypt—ancient traditions, which had fallen into

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the background in the Heroic age and in the minds of warrior-tribes in the full enjoyment of life and vigour of action. In any case the lasting influence of the Egyptian doctrine is undeniable, and the Greeks openly confessed that in these matters they were the scholars of the Egyptians. But as soon as this belief struck deeper roots, it necessarily came to exercise a deep influence on the moral consciousness of the Hellenes. For when beyond this mortal life a view is opened into eternity, the immediate result is a total change in the value attached to life and the gifts bestowed by it. And since the priests of Apollo were anxious, in opposition to the frivolous love of enjoyment to which the people inclined, to awaken and strengthen in the latter an earnest moral sense, no more effective means offered themselves for the promotion of this object than the acknowledgment and advancement of the doctrine of immortality. And that they actually used these means is evident from the paintings in the pilgrims' hall immediately adjoining the Delphic temple. This hall was arranged for the social meeting of the visitors; and its walls were immediately after the wars with the Persians adorned with large frescoes by Polygnotus. In these one of the principal subjects was the Lower World; the essential object of this representation being to bring the Lower World before the spectators as a scene of retribution, and to display the unhappy lot of those who pass into eternity without any certain hope.

How vast is the discrepancy between these ideas and the Homeric views of life! In the latter the vigour of vitality, the enjoyment of the present, and the happy consciousness of health and strength, are everything: and beyond this life is nothing but an awful world of shades and ghosts, a place of weakness and humiliation; so that the life of a day-labourer on earth, in the light of the sun, is yet incomparably preferable to a Hero-king's powerless after-life in Hades. Although the opposite view never became an article of

popular faith, which might be pre-supposed in every Hellene, like the veneration of the Olympian gods, yet it was adopted with full earnestness by those among the people who felt deeper religious cravings, and was cherished with devout fidelity in more limited circles, which formed themselves inside the multitude as isolated communities. And although these secret doctrines or mysteries principally attached themselves to the religion of Demeter, yet they were acknowledged and recommended by Apollo in his own sanctuary. In Delphi, above all other places, the worship of Heroes, which is based on a belief in the continued personal life of the deceased and in the heightening of their power in death, was held in honour. Finally, among the wise men and the poets who connected themselves with Delphi, the graver view of life, which most strenuously opposes the Homeric conceptions, is also most decisively put forward. Thus in the first instance with Hesiod, in whose poems life on earth appears utterly stripped of the joyous brilliancy which Homer spreads out over it; for with Hesiod life is a sunken and fallen state, a school of adversity through which man has to pass in the exercise of virtue, under the observation and support of beatified spirits. Solon declares death to be better than life, the value of which he measures by its end. Pindar teaches with prophetic inspiration the divine origin of the soul and its destiny, according to which it shall at some future time, freed from sins, return into blessed communion with God. These are the same doctrines which Pythagoras, who was believed to be a son of Apollo, spread abroad in wide circles. Here again we meet with the belief in the world of spirits, in the gradual refinement of the fallen soul of man; here again we recognise the aversion from every frivolous attempt to make the gods perceptible to the senses, and the same tendency of the mind towards a world beyond the limits of the present, towards a world where the true sun first dawns upon man.

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Usages of burial and worship of Heroes.

A further change, corresponding to this belief, takes place in the idea of the human body. For if with death everything passes away, the body of the dead is also a thing of no value or moment; hence it is given up to the flames before its beauty is destroyed by death. If, on the other hand, death is the point at which the soul first enters upon a new and higher existence, this existence also hallows the external encasement of the soul; since a soul without a body seemed inconceivable. Although, then, the Hellenes did not follow the fashion of the Egyptians, who with superstitious timidity clung to the things of the body, and thought it their duty to protect the outward encasement of the soul against the destructive power of nature, yet the custom of burial is essentially connected with these more solemn views of life and death. Like the seed of corn, the human body is restored to the earth, and surrounded with fertile soil in which corn is sown and trees are planted. The growth of plants becomes a consolatory symbol of immortality, and the remains of the dead are left like a sacred treasure in the vicinity of the survivors. The Delphic oracle was always anxious to encourage the veneration of relics of the dead, to order the restoration of sacred remains to the womb of their native earth; and Delphi was also the home of the myth of the dæmon of the infernal regions, Eurynomus, who ate the flesh of the buried, but left their bones untouched.

The Seven Wise Men.

The above is sufficient to prove that the Delphic priesthood not only endeavoured to introduce the knowledge and ideas of foreign countries for the benefit of national culture in Greece, but also to maintain an intimate connexion with the wisest men of their own nation. Such a connexion the priests of the oracle could not spare, if they wished to maintain themselves at the height of civilisation and to bring into their service the best powers of their contemporaries. The oracle, so to speak, assembled around it a spiritual aristocracy; nay, it even assumed the right

of choosing the wisest out of the nation, and sanctioning their universal estimation as such. The clearest instance of this most remarkable relation between the oracle and the people is that of the "Seven Wise Men," whose very number at once announces them as a body collected by Apollo. As the god placed in the mouth of his seer the sayings which comprehend the essence of divine revelation, so these men, educated in the wisdom of Apollo, were above all others capable of fixing for all time the essence of the human doctrine of virtue in short and pithy sentences. Theirs was, as it were, a kind of revelation at secondhand, not canonical like the Divine Word, but salutary and beneficent: hence the proverbs of the wise men were also exhibited in characters of gold at the entrance to the temple, and seem, in fact, to have been actually intended for the purpose of being thus preserved in writing. Among these men, who were acknowledged as types of thorough mental and moral culture by Apollo, the god allowed the tripod to pass round, to remain with him who was the wisest amongst the wise. It completed its circuit, where it had begun it, with Thales of Miletus, in whom for the first time the Greek mind had asserted itself as a mind searching after the final cause, as a philosophic mind. In the mixed variety of things coming into life and going out of it he sought for an element which he might regard as original matter. That he designated as such water, was, doubtless, occasioned by the peculiar characteristics of his native country. For nowhere was there in an equal degree before the eyes of the Greeks a generation of solid out of liquid, of earthy soil out of water, as in the immediate vicinity of Miletus, where the muddy Mæander flows into the sea.

Thales.

In Thales the Greek mind attempted to obtain a command over nature, by endeavouring to explain her phenomena, to discover her laws, and to define her qualities. It was the mind of the Ionians which, propelled by an unquenchable thirst after knowledge,

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opened up this path of the interpretation of nature, advancing from without to within. The inquiries of Ionic natural philosophy were carried on by fellow-citizens of Thales, especially by Anaximander and Anaximenes. But in a city like Miletus, and in the midst of a population well acquainted with the world, no speculation abstracted from external life could have flourished and attained to fame. The Ionic thinkers stood in the midst of active life as proved statesmen and wise counsellors of the people. By means of the connexion with Egypt and Babylon they increased the store of practical knowledge, taught a more accurate astronomy, improved navigation, and set up the first sundials. Upon the whole, however, the Ionic school of philosophy became further and further estranged from the tendency toward moral teaching and the higher wisdom of life, for the sake of which Thales was chiefly acknowledged at Delphi and included in the circle of the Seven.

The Delphic philosophy.

In Delphi a wisdom was sought for which would deepen the consciousness of man, impress upon him the ordinances of religion, and in accordance with these also establish fixed and regular divisions of human society. These results it was impossible to obtain in Ionia. The Delphic principles were realised in Crete and Sparta; these were the states after the heart of the Pythian Apollo, and we are accordingly informed with respect to the wise men devoted to him, that their sentiments were Laconian. But what in Crete and Sparta had only been attainable by the force of arms, and very imperfectly, was to be effected by purer and loftier means, by the power of internal conviction, in the Pythagorean philosophy. The latter stands in direct contrast to the Ionic school. It is careless as to things external and to the whole world of sensual phenomena. It desires to realise itself in man, and to show itself forth not in dogmas, but in deeds; it is called into life by the formation of a community of men who, animated by the same love of

virtue, form together a close alliance, in which each, like the column of a Dorian temple, is of importance only as a member of the whole. It is the establishment of a sacred and immutable system of order, which the Pythagoreans designated under the name of *Kosmos*, an order which to so high a degree unites the various persons participating in it in one union that all know only one will, one law, one common property. Here religion, philosophy, and political constitution are blended into one. It is an ideal Sparta, and derived from the same source as the actual. For, like Lycurgus, Pythagoras, as his very name shows, has received his wisdom from the Pythia; and the name of Themistoclea is given to the priestess said to have communicated to him the doctrines afterwards spread by him through the world.

We have thus been enabled to recognise the influence of the priestly institutions, and, above all, that issuing from Delphi, in the maintenance of a common nationality, in the regulation of the Hellenic religious worship, in the systems of festivals and of chronology, in the development and deepening of the moral consciousness of the nation, in the conduct of colonisation, and in the advance of a many-sided mental culture. There only remains that side of spiritual life on which the peculiarities of Hellenism earliest and most deeply impressed themselves: the field of art.

Hieratic architecture.

In this field nothing seems so immediately connected with religious worship as temple-architecture; and yet it is on this very head that it is most difficult to point out the connexion and the determining influence. The Greek temple stands before us in its completeness, as does the Homeric epos, without our being able to explain its origin. It is a whole, complete in itself, a perfected organism, which cannot have been joined and put together piece by piece; rather, we have in it the realisation of *one* idea, and

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all the differences demonstrable in the monuments are nothing but later deviations from the original rule.

Hellenic architecture in stone.

The temple.

The Greek temple is no civic common-hall, but the house of a god. Hence there were no temples as long as the Greeks were Pelasgi, and honoured their Zeus as the Invisible, by the pure service of altars. It was the veneration of sacred symbols and figures which first awakened the desire of founding a place worthy of them, *i.e.* a holy place. The most obvious object offering itself for the purpose was the tree sacred to the divinity, and forming the natural sanctuary of the latter. Accordingly, we find in Greece tree-sanctuaries of primitive antiquity—Apollo placed among laurel-bushes, and Artemis in the trunk of the cedar or the elm. In the next place, it became desirable to provide a more lasting and fixed protecting roof for the gods, in order to ensure their statues, the pledges of the public welfare, against robbery and any offensive touch. While it is not improbable that, for such a hedging-in of the statues, the wood of the sacred trees was originally employed, a fixed style of architecture, at all events, only developed itself with the use of stone; and, after the Hellenes had begun to avail themselves, for the purposes of religious worship, of the inexhaustible stores of the most precious material supplied by their hills, they also arranged and formed the whole edifice according to the nature of their materials. It was a free creation of the Hellenic mind; and whatever incidental information, with reference to technical points of architecture in stone, they may have derived from nations which had been engaged in architecture at an earlier period, according to its spiritual essence the whole system was purely Hellenic, and, moreover, after its fashion new. For a people as full of genius and inventiveness as the Hellenes never had a notion of building in despite of the natural difference of the material, and of applying the same treatment to square blocks of stone and to beams of wood, and of thus imposing upon themselves

an unbearable yoke in the development of their sacred architecture.

The idea which, in the first instance, lies at the foundation of the Greek temple of stone, is the same which was the standard in all the Hellenic institutions of religious worship, viz. the strict separation of the sacred and the profane. For this reason, the rocky soil of natural growth is levelled, and on it a broad terrace raised out of hewn blocks of stone, partly intended to give to the temple a firm foundation and a secure connexion with the soil of the land, and, on the other hand, to place it on its own base as something peculiar and established under festive circumstances, and to raise it above the level on which men pursue their daily occupations. The purpose of this solemn foundation is also served by the broad steps cut out around the building, three in number, in order that for the sake of a good omen the right foot may touch both the first and the last of them.

The immediate position of the statue must, in accordance with its purpose, be fixed, and enclosed on all sides. Accordingly, strong walls, built up out of blocks of stone, surround the quadrilateral space of the cella of the temple, stretching towards the east; like thick curtains, they hide the view of the statue from every unconsecrated eye. But it is at the same time to be accessible and visible. For in the east court of the temple stands the altar for burnt-offerings, and those who sacrifice on it wish to sacrifice in the sight of the divinity. Accordingly, it becomes necessary to diminish and reconcile the contrast between the dark space within and the surrounding localities without. This is attained by leaving the east side open; the walls here end in the form of columns, and in the midst, between the two pilasters (*antæ*), rise two columns indicating the front of the building, and forming together with the projecting side-walls the *ante-cella*, a space full of light, which is protected from without by nothing but grating. A corresponding

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space is added to the heart of the building in the west; this is the *posticus*.

The columns and pilasters are connected with one another by the architrave. On the architrave arise anew vertical props, originally only over the axes of the columns and the antæ; these are the *triglyphs*, rectangular blocks, the intermediate spaces of which (the *metopes*) remain open in order to give light to the interior. Behind the triglyphs rest the ends of the stone beams, with a slight bearing on the architrave; which beams form the ceiling with others crossing them; and the ceiling now covers the whole interior of the sanctuary like a network of stone. At their upper end the triglyphs are connected with one another by a fresh system of horizontal beams. As the columns support the architrave, so the blocks of the triglyphs support the cornice of the roof of the temple, by throwing its weight on the axes of the columns and the pilasters. The weather-roof again extends longitudinally over the entire building beneath, by forming a triangular gable over the *ante-cella* and *posticus*, and on the planks, allowing the rain-water to run off on an incline and to gather in the gutter of the roof, whence it is afterwards emitted through the open jaws of lions, without touching the lower parts of the building.

Such is the skeleton of the Greek temple. Every part of it is a necessary member of the whole, which in its place serves the common end, without being anything as of itself. It is the Kosmos of the Doric state brought before the senses in stone. The whole is arranged according to the simplest numerical proportions, and yet within this whole there exists a great variety of effective mutual relations and uses, a living contrast between the vertical and the horizontal, the open and the closed, the supporting and the supported; but all contrasts dissolve into a higher harmony, which arises before the spectator in a solemn and tranquillising calm, and embodies before his eyes the sacred significance of Measure and Law.

This moral effect of the building is to be deteriorated by no external ornamentation, such as the thoughtless art of the barbarians, and Greek art also, so long as it was dependent upon them, affected; the inner formation is fully to display its truth and essence, devoid of covering, like the body of a wrestler. Although, then, something is added to the stone prepared for its proper place, which forms no part of the architectural purpose belonging to it, yet this is no mere ornament, delighting the eye like a pleasant play of forms or colours, but its object is to indicate externally the purpose served for the advantage of the whole by the individual block. If the column were a smooth cylinder of stone, it would suffice to support the beams. But the shaft of the column is fluted from top to bottom, and these flutes are so arranged that of the original surface of the shaft mere ribs remain, which ascend in delicate lines: thus the column acquires for every spectator, whether he be conscious of it or not, the character of a part of the building, carrying the eye upward, and at the same time destined to serve as a support. Accordingly, flutes are repeated in the triglyphs, which perform the same service for the roof which the columns perform for the architrave. But the object is not merely to indicate the effect of each part of the building, but also to exhibit their mutual relations to one another. In this two ideas are particularly expressed, according as the parts of the building are free from, or carry, any weight above. That end which is free from any load is most naturally represented by a wreath of erect leaves, and that bearing a load by a pendant wreath. Finally, even to those parts of the building which do not come into contact with one another the same character ought to be ascribed; accordingly, when the wall becomes pilaster, and like the column serves to open a space and afford a support, a similar external character should be attributed to it and to the column.

Thus the bare skeleton of the edifice is clothed in

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a transparent covering of forms, which are added by the chisel or in colour. They express the idea that the stone which lay as an inert mass in the mountains, as a building-stone for the house of the god, received a higher being and an ideal destiny; of themselves they are nothing—nothing but the mirror of the essential nature of the whole. But even here no arbitrary decisions may be applied; the language of forms is founded on a symbolism hallowed by fixed tradition, and admitting of no deviation from it for the purpose of satisfying any private fancy of the particular artist.

The whole edifice is an independent conception and a free creation of the mind, without any prototype in nature. Nor is it any chance invention, but a production with a clear and conscious purpose, and the perfect expression of a definite tendency of the mind. And since this mental tendency in every respect harmonises with the spirit animating the legislations of Crete and Sparta, this style of architecture might well be called the Doric. Though no more invented by Dorian men than those political systems had been, yet it was the artistic type of the state which was to be realised by the active exertions of these men as living building-stones. And it is probable that, as the Doric idea of the state was essentially developed under the authority of the Delphic oracle, the same was the origin of the Doric temple. For that the latter is founded on priestly ordinances seems to follow naturally, as a result, from the fact that the whole temple-architecture is based on a severe distinction between what is due to the gods and what to man. But who could have fixed this distinction, except those cognisant by divine ordinance of the divine law, *i.e.* the priestly families? It was a rule of the priests that in the Dorian state the doors and ceilings of private houses should be constructed by means of the saw and the axe; in other words, the house of stone was a privilege of the gods, and their dwellings alone were to be permanent, and to withstand time. But not only the material of the

temple, but also the style of art conditioned by it, was a divine privilege; and it would have been an arrogant encroachment upon the rights of gods for a mortal to let staircases lead round his house, or to ornament his dwelling with the gable of an eagle-roof.

But the immediate connexion between the system of sacred architecture and the Apolline religion is clear from Apollo being himself designated as the divine architect in the legends concerning the foundation of his sanctuaries. As his lyre is the most ancient symbol of a rhythmical joining of the stones, so it is he too who, according to the hymns of the Delphic temple, passes over the land, seeking for the places welcome to his eyes, in order to found in them his dwelling, which is executed, under his superintendence, by artists whom the gods befriend, such as Trophonius and Agamedes. The development and spread of the Doric style of architecture is accordingly, beyond a doubt, connected with the same sanctuary from which the foundation of Dorian states was commenced. In different states the ideas of art, lying at the root of the temple-architecture, were further and further advanced; and though perhaps Crete, where the development of the Doric idea of state was earliest completed, in this matter offered a precedent to the rest (her ancient artist-guilds in particular were the first to arrive in the treatment of marble at a complete command over the brittle material), yet it was principally the Dorian states on the Isthmus, Corinth and Sicyon, the inventiveness and industry of whose inhabitants enabled them to bring temple-architecture to perfection (vol. i. p. 273). Doubtless the colonies, also, which had been sent out to the West under Delphic guidance, took an active part in these operations, and exercised a lively reaction upon the mother-cities. And since it was a Corinthian, Spintharus by name, to whom the rebuilding of the Delphic temple was entrusted in the 58th Olympiad, it is clear that at that time the Corinthian school of art was

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regarded as that in which the idea of Doric temple-architecture had, according to the opinion of the Delphic priests, reached its most perfect development.

The Doric and Ionic styles.

But although Doric architecture left a wide field for human inventiveness, and could only attain to a final settlement of its system by means of a succession of rival endeavours, yet it was from the first strictly bound by priestly ordinances, and, when completed, was closed against any further change. Accordingly, it could as little as the Doric political systems be received and adopted everywhere: and only extended as far as the influence of Delphi reached. Accordingly, there arose in contrast to the Doric an Ionic style of architecture, in which the creative impulse, free and devoid of any prohibitory ordinance, could develope itself with greater ease according to its own tendencies. Here the column is freed from the relations of close connexion in which it stands to the wall of the temple. The *cella* of the temple and the hall of columns stand apart; a free arcade of columns surrounds the whole edifice of the temple. Nor is the single column any longer based on the common ground, but each receives its particular base, and appears as a separate object with separate claims of its own. Everywhere the strictly-defined relations between the lower and upper portions of the edifice, as well as of their single component parts towards one another, experience a change characterised by superior freedom and ease. Instead of a single set of forms being alone possible and admissible, a great variety is allowed, and local and personal preferences are permitted more free play. Thus, while in all Doric edifices the fundamental law with regard to ornamentation is the strictest chasteness, and with regard to the design the Delphic proverb, demanding measure in everything, the Ionians on the other hand freely employ their resources, the abundance of which they rejoice in displaying, so that their very earliest temple-edifices exhibit colossal dimensions.

Thus, on this head again, as well as in Greek colonisation, we find a double centre from which temple-architecture commenced its progress. When and where the germs of the Ionic style unfolded themselves, and whether this took place in conscious opposition against the Doric style, it would be difficult to determine. It is one of the characteristics of Ionic developments that their fixed centres and determining influences admit of no easy demonstration. But there is no doubt but that the germs of this anti-Doric style unfolded their freest and most luxuriant growth in the Ionia of Asia Minor. Accordingly, as soon as in the eighth century the influence of Asia Minor upon the coast of the European country commenced, and the Ionic population here revived from their oppression by the Dorians, the Ionic style of architecture also gained ground and favour in Hellas. This took place, in other words, in the period of the Tyrants. When Myron built at Olympia an Ionic treasury by the side of the Doric, he was making a demonstration against Dorism and the unconditioned dominion of the Delphic tripod. The rise of the Ionic race which had begun at Sicyon was more successfully and completely carried out at Athens. Here not only were buildings in both the Doric and Ionic styles simultaneously erected (vol. i. p. 368), but the principles of the two styles were internally united. Athens was able to unite the Doric observance of measure and severity of artistic form, and the law of perfect internal connexion, with the spiritual freedom and capability of modification characteristic of the Ionic style. Thus, in this matter again, Athens harmonised the contrasts of Doric and Ionic in a higher unity.

Plastic art

The plastic art is equally a handmaid of religion, and was equally trained in her service. The earliest figure-representations of the gods, it is true, belong to another domain than that of human art. They are

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pledges of the divine grace and of the proximity of the gods, handed down to men by miraculous means, themselves for the most part not figures formed like human beings or intended to lay claim to any degree of resemblance to their originals, but mere formless stones, square logs, pillars, and conical blocks. In Delphi, least of all, the intention prevailed of encouraging attempts to make the gods human and perceptible to the senses; and even after the Greek world was full of the most perfect statues of Apollo, the pointed pillar (obelisk) remained the most sacred symbol of the god. In the first instance, then, religion only so far awakened and exercised the plastic impulse of the Greeks that it demanded sacred utensils of bronze, the requisites of sacrifice, vessels, tables, tripods, lamps, candelabra, basons for consecration, &c., which had to be conscientiously fashioned in accordance with prescribed rules. This demand ennobled the whole activity of the Hellenes as artisans. It accustomed them not to content themselves with satisfying immediate wants after the manner of common handicraftsmen, nor even with changing the forms and styles of their work arbitrarily and thoughtlessly, according to the whim of fashion, but, in the same spirit which rules over architecture, to seek the corresponding expression in form for the purpose of each particular vessel. But after the right thing had once been found, the beauty of which consists simply in the perfect harmony between purpose and form, it was faithfully held fast. Thus the whole tectonic art of the Greeks is consecrated by a higher purpose, and is stamped with the impress of that moral dignity which so manifestly distinguishes the Hellenic from all that is non-Hellenic.

Plastic art in the service of the temple.

Meanwhile religion, not only in poetry, but also in plastic art, led to a representation of the gods in human form; for after temples and figured representations had come to be considered indispensable adjuncts of most forms of divine worship, the extension of the latter

also required a large increase of figures to be adored in the new homes of religion. At the same time the shapeless trunk of wood came to be set in order and arranged in its several parts; the symbols of the divinity, spear, lyre, and distaff, became part of its shape; and according to the particular local myths and events all kinds of innovations were permitted, but never without the sanction of priestly authority. Thus Onatas renovated for the Phigalians their figure of the black Demeter, by remodelling the original form according to the visions of dreams. These religious plastic artists were carvers in wood; for in choosing as their material wood, which was sacred to the divinity, they thought to find in it something connected with the divine being. Hence the figures of Athene had to be of olive-wood. Out of the same material the oracle bade the Epidaurians carve their figures of Damia and Auxesia; by which means they at the same time acknowledged the Attic Athene, and Athens as the metropolis of this worship connected with the cultivation of the olive. For in this, we must remember, the national importance of Delphi above all consisted, that it was an Amphictyonic sanctuary, and Apollo an Amphictyonic god, who not only provided for his own worship, but also for that of all the other gods, who animadverted with equal severity upon every neglect of a national religious worship, whether it might be that of Dionysus or of Demeter or of Athene, and impartially endeavoured to advance all Hellenic religious systems, and to regulate them according to fixed ordinances.

Thus in this domain of artistic activity, all things were bound by the decrees of the priests and by close relations with religion. But although the divinity itself, as the object of adoration, remained in an unchanged form, yet it accepted freer and more manifold acts of homage, which, with the growth of the prosperity of individuals and communities, continued to flow into the sanctuaries in constantly increasing

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abundance. Originally these were only gifts of actual value, the warrior's spoil of arms, the sailor's share of his profits, paid down in rude or shaped bits of metal. Subsequently, however, an attempt was made to give to these offerings another value, independent of the weight of the metal, by an endeavour to represent significantly the relation of the giver to the god, and thus to make the sacred gift a historic monument. We may call to mind, *e.g.*, the coffer of Cypselus (vol. i. p. 278). This opened a wide range to artistic invention. Permission was accorded to represent the gods themselves, either those of the temple, or even others, so to speak, as guests of the sanctuary. At the same time use was made of the abundant store of temple legends and myths of the Heroes. But even in this point the priestly influence was paramount, and placed limits upon the free choice of the artist. Every excessively free movement appeared as a violation of religious reverence, even as every worldly concourse disturbed the divine peace of the court of the temple. Hence no divine personage might be represented in a state of passionate agitation, or in unbecoming dress, or in a too realistic form; no poetic myths capable of giving offence were tolerated; the scenes in which gods were introduced as actors had to correspond to the solemn ceremonial of the rites of the temples, and all the forms of art employed to the traditionary symbolism. Particular subjects serving to glorify the locality of the temple, as *e.g.* the victorious repulse by Apollo of the attacks upon the Delphic tripod, were especially welcome; and those artists and schools of art which attached themselves closely to the priestly corporations were recommended and favoured by the oracle: thus, above all, the Cretan Dædalidæ, who believed themselves to have been insulted at Sicyon. Famine and various other plagues lay upon the land, till the artists, expiated by the command of the Pythia, continued their interrupted work. And this also explains the circumstance that to the plastic artists was conceded

the right of representing their own persons on the dedicatory gifts. On the Amyclæan throne, *e. g.*, the whole body of the artists who had been engaged in its fabrication were visibly represented. They were regarded as persons in the service of the divine religion.

Dedicatory gifts and statues.

Thus plastic art learnt in the vicinity of the temples, and in close connexion with their service, to accomplish a multiplicity of various tasks. Among these were the representation in relief of stories of the gods, destined to decorate the walls of the temples, the sacred wells, the altars, the pediments for dedicatory gifts, &c., and the erection of statues and groups of gods, which were to serve, not for purposes of adoration, but as an edifying realisation of divine qualities and of the vicinity of the divine presence. It was very natural that in these representations the human body was not, in the first instance, chosen as a type; and hence it is also exceedingly probable that here, where nothing was more consistently avoided than arbitrary personal choice, the fixed proportions of Egyptian art were taken as a standard. Of this we are expressly informed with regard to a carved figure of the Pythian Apollo by Samian artists. This wider circle of temple-sculpture also includes the representation of priestly personages, who were placed in rows at the entrances to the temples, and thus testified to the age of the worship, as well as to its uninterrupted connexion; further, the chairs and thrones of the gods, of which the most famous, the work of Bathycles, stood at Amyclæ from the time of the 60th Olympiad (*circ.*), serving as a solemn enclosure for the pillar-shaped bronze colossus of Apollo.*

Finally, the development of plastic art had yet a third point to which to attach itself in the sanctuaries

* The date has been placed as late as the 60th Olympiad. For if the emigration of Bathycles and his fellow-artists from Magnesia in Caria to Sparta is connected with the troubles called forth by the advance of the Persians into the coast-districts of Asia Minor, as has been assumed below (cf. Sillig *Catal. Artif.* p. 105), the Amyclæan throne cannot have been built earlier than the 60th Olympiad (540 B.C.).

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of the national gods—viz. the great festive games; for nothing exercised so powerful an effect on the growth of a national plastic art as the ordinance which issued from those sanctuaries, to the effect that the victors in the great competitive games might be honoured by statues in the courts of the temples. About the time of the Pisistratidæ the first statues of the kind were dedicated at Olympia. On this head the rule obtained, that triple victors might be represented in life-size and complete likeness to nature.

Influence of the gymnastic art on sculpture.

A perfect gymnastic training was in itself an artistic performance, a creation of art, which the Hellenes accomplished upon their own persons. When one from out of the number of youthful rivals had perfectly solved this task, the impression of this living work of art, in which gods and men delight, was not to pass away with the short festival. Accordingly the services of art were called in to preserve in the memory of the Hellenes, by means of lasting materials, the blooming vigour of the victor's youth, and to assemble round the habitations of the gods, the centres of the nation, a band of chosen youths in imperishable forms, calling upon coming generations to imitate their prowess.

What was required was a copy of an artistic model: hence fidelity was above all things requisite, in order to bring before the eyes the swelling muscles, the sinewy build, the broad chest which had proved its strength in the race. In this case no external ordinances, no strange regulations, beset the artist: no bodily proportions borrowed from foreign nations could maintain themselves. Art was freed from its fetters, and in the perfect human body its one aim was placed before it—an aim fixed and near at hand, but ideal at the same time. By these means the sculpture of the Hellenes was led into the paths peculiar to it.

Naked, the youths of Hellas appeared in the wrestling-grounds; nor could art represent them otherwise. For the more the Hellenes artistically developed their body, the less notion had they of being ashamed of

it. They too, it is true, well knew the body to be the seat of sensual appetites, and were well aware of the direct opposition between its nature and the spiritual. But we must remember how all their efforts were directed towards preventing the continued existence of this contrast as an indissoluble and painful opposition, and towards overcoming it, developing the body according to fixed laws and discipline, and thus effecting a harmonious union between the inner and the outer man by a spiritualisation of the sensual, and sensualisation of the spiritual. While then the barbarians, who had not succeeded in glorifying the human body so as to make it a sight agreeable in the eyes of the gods, might shyly and timidly hide and cover it, the Hellenes, in perfect simplicity, presented it as the most beautiful and noble object in visible creation. Thus Hellenic art received the impress which distinguishes it from that of every other people. Whilst in forming the figures of the gods their art learnt reverence towards sacred tradition, and how to observe a self-denying fidelity, and, in composing the dedicatory gifts, a thoughtful combination of ideas, it here grew to understand nature and her truthfulness, and to secure to itself that calm and transparent tranquillity which can only prevail where no discord prevails between the spiritual and the physical being.

Connexion between religion and plastic art.

Such was the triple connexion between religion and plastic art. But a long time passed, before, in consequence of these impulses, plastic art in its steady progress attained to the point at which it became so peculiarly perfect an expression of the Greek nationality. A slow growth is characteristic of all important developments of Greek civilisation. For a long time art remained a mechanical handicraft, and not until a dominion had gradually been acquired over the material do we find fixed tendencies and schools of art.

Progress of technical skill and knowledge.

When a search was begun for another material less destructible than wood (the original sacred material of art), stone and bronze were naturally chosen, as being

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both sanctified by religion; the one for purposes of architecture, and the other for vessels and implements. The stone figure was simply a more lasting representation of the wooden; and in proportion as most of the latter were formless blocks or stiff attempts at figures, stone could supply the place of wood even at a rude stage of artistic treatment. Beginnings in this style were contemporaneously made in different localities. A real school of artists, who were carvers in wood and sculptors, is first met with in Crete; where in art too the culture of the Minoan had passed into the Dorian period. In the guild of the Dædalidæ a handicraft became an art; now, an art seeks to become famous and to spread abroad, whilst a handicraft obscurely clings to a particular place. Dipœnus and Scyllis were the first who, in the 50th Olympiad (*circ.*), acquired celebrity beyond their native islands; and plastic art, like the music and gymnastic arts and the political system, was transplanted from Crete to Peloponnesus. This took place at the time when Sparta had recently placed herself at the head of affairs in the peninsula. In Peloponnesus the art of the Dædalidæ formed a combination with that of working in bronze, which had come from Chalcis and manifested itself in the coverings of the walls of ancient sanctuaries, in tripods, &c. From the Chalcidian city of Rhegium sprang Clearchus, who was a pupil of the Cretan artists, and subsequently composed a statue of Zeus of pieces of bronze, after the model of Cretan figures of the gods. Doubtless Delphi brought together in Sparta the artists from Rhegium and Crete; and the instance of Bathycles of Amyclæ, whom we find about the same time erecting the throne of Amyclæ, again points to the worship of Apollo, uniting the remotest cities with one another.

In this instance again the neighbourhood of the sea and consequent freedom of intercourse, more than anything else, advance the development of the Hellenes. From Crete the germs of artistic development were borne across to the Cyclades, where Naxos and

Paros were qualified by the treasures of their island-mountains to attain to technical perfection in the working of marble. Naxos is distinguished for its quarries of emery. They enabled the stone-masons to give a peculiar sharpness of edge to their tools; and thus here for the first time (about the 50th Olympiad) even the roof-tiles of the temples were cut out of marble.

The arts of soldering

In a yet more important degree the islands of Chios and Samos, both inhabited by an industrious trading population, took part in the development of art. Here, long before the growth of the Dædalic art of stone-masonry, the most important discoveries had been made with regard to the treatment of bronze. Already men had learnt how to combine pieces of bronze by means of pegs and nails, and thus also to execute statues of larger size by accurately putting together the different parts of the body. But their combination still remained imperfect; and the visibility of the structure took away from its effect. In Chios the art was discovered of combining pieces of bronze firmly and thoroughly by introducing between them metal in a molten state. This was the invention of Glaucus, which belongs to the beginning of the seventh century, *i. e.* to the time when the first Hellenic settlers established themselves on the south coast of Sicily. Since during the process of soldering it is necessary for its successful accomplishment to keep off the external air from the place of soldering, it is possible that the extraordinary abundance of gummy plants which distinguishes Chios was one of the causes contributing to make this important invention succeed to especial perfection on that island.

and founding in bronze.

Of far superior moment, however, was a second invention, by means of which the two most important branches of plastic art, the forming in clay and working of metal, were brought into a connexion with one another, which produced the most important results. For although already the art of Glaucus had pointed out the way of combining the parts of larger works into a

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perfect whole, yet this connexion was after all only one effected after the completion of the work: the artist in metal had to work piece by piece, and, as long as it was not known how to deal with bronze except in a solid state, was confined in his labour to giving the desired form to the metal by blows of the hammer. He could obtain no general view of the whole work till he had laboriously, as it were, glued together its different parts. The artist in clay, on the other hand, was unable to give permanence and a monumental dignity to the works of his hand, which gradually passed further and further beyond the limits of a handicraft.

The Samian school of art.

It was then that the inventive mind of the Samians succeeded in discovering a harmonising mean between the two arts. They pursued the idea of Glaucus, of calling fire to the artist's aid, in order to make metal obedient to, and flexible by, the will of man. The liquid bronze is poured round a fixed core; flowing down from above, between this core and the carefully-modelled sides of the mould, it exactly fills up all cavities and channels, and accurately fits itself into every fold of the earthen mould. In the shape designed by the artist it is solidified into its previous firmness; the earthen mould is broken up, and the fragile model of clay appears, as by magic, changed into brilliant metal; slim, light, and mobile, but firm and strong, resisting the inroads of time and of every kind of weather, a lasting monument to adorn the public market and the streets.

With this invention the plastic impulse of the Hellenes was first completely set free. The plastic art was no longer confined to the expensive and unwieldy material of marble; and a successful work of art could be multiplied according to fancy. This possibility, as well as the lightness of founded works, gave rise to a more widely-spread trade in objects of art: in short, a new life began to pervade the whole world of art, and to cause the latter to penetrate deeper into the heart of the nation.

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The fame of this beneficent invention is unanimously connected by the ancients with the name of Theodorus of Samos, which name, alternating with that of Telecles, frequently recurs in a family of artists in the island, so that it becomes difficult to distinguish with any certainty between the different generations. Already, previously to the time when the Bacchiadæ were overthrown at Corinth—*i.e.* about the 25th Olympiad—a Theodorus, together with Rhœcus, by the invention of bronze-founding, established the high reputation of the Samian school of artists, in which the tectonic and plastic art, and works in gold and silver, were carried on as branches of a common development of artistic skill. This was developed in connexion with the sanctuary of the Samian Here, in which the greatest multiplicity of tasks was set to the inventive spirit of art. Thence its fame spread over distant regions. In Sparta, the Scias was built from the design of Theodorus—a round assembly-hall, probably destined for the musical contests at the Carnean festivals (vol. i. p. 220), for the tent-like roofing of which a texture of cast rods was probably employed.

The Æginetans.

The Samian invention spread westwards about the same time, when, on the coasts of the Saronic gulf, the old-Ionic population arose under the influence of the trading cities of Asia Minor, and eagerly admitted all the germs of growing industry. The chief localities were Ægina, Corinth, and Sicyon. Ægina was by nature destined to become the staple place of trade in the Saronic gulf. Here, as in Crete, a native exercise of art had survived out of the times of the ancient Achæans, which connects itself with the name of Smilis; here Dorian families had come amongst the Ionian inhabitants, and, as in Epidaurus, established a Doric political system. The severity and rigid one-sidedness of the latter had least of all admitted of its being carried out on the island of traders, which was accordingly peculiarly adapted to become the centre of Phidon's reforms. The Dorian reaction, victorious on the mainland, was equally

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impotent to hinder the islanders in their development, which was unusually favoured by the close neighbourhood to one another of the eminent Achæan families, the Ionian trading population and the Dorian soldiery. Their brisk maritime trade brought them early news of every new advance of Greek civilisation, and they, so to speak, accompanied the first Greek mariners to Egypt and to Italy. An especially close intercourse and spiritual relationship existed between them and the Samians. Both practise the same worship of Here. The new-Ionian population of Samos, it will be remembered, derived its immediate origin from Ægina and Epidaurus (vol. i. p. 129). This intimate connexion explains the circumstance that the Æginetan sculptor, Smilis, made for the Samians their statue of Here. They adhered to the other as a colony to its mother-city. For the same reason, the Samian invention of bronze-founding nowhere met with a readier reception than at Ægina. Here artists had formed in clay from a very early date, and at the same time the gymnastic art, introduced under a Doric legislation, flourished, so that the art of founding in bronze at Ægina met with both the best preparatory school and the worthiest tasks. In the Æginetan school the importance of the influence of the Palæstra on plastic art was first fully proved. As far, then, as the character of the gymnastic art is Dorian, the art which directed its attention to it, and with conscientious fidelity to nature represented the naked body of the wrestler and runner, might be called a Doric plastic art as contrasted with an Ionic, which prefers softer forms, and, in accordance with the national fashion of dress, loves to surround its figures with flowing garments. Yet it is impossible to carry out such contrasts as these in this particular. For the Hellenes in their artistic creations pass far beyond the natural distinctions between the races; and the whole history of art among them is nothing but a struggle for a more and more perfect expression of their common nationality.

Accordingly, art only very gradually became a Greek art; for its rude germs and beginnings have no characteristics of nationality about them. These beginnings were themselves intermixed with the most thoroughly foreign elements; and the dressing-up in colours of clumsy idols is in truth Babylonian and Phœnician rather than Greek. When they came to understand art, the Hellenes were themselves forced to laugh at the strange barbarousness of their own images. Only a long and untiring effort, encouraged by the favourable situation of particular localities and kept up in exclusive guilds and family circles, gradually formed the national character of Greek art. Its different seats entered into relations with one another, exchanged their inventions, and, like an electric chain, acted upon the whole life of the people. A marked progress towards a higher phase is undeniable from the 20th Olympiad. Thirty Olympiads later, *i. e.* about the same time when the national games of the Greeks stood at the highest point of their glory, we already find in existence a Hellenic art possessed of a command over its materials and of a consciousness of its aims, and constituting a common possession of the nation and the most perfect expression of its spiritual unity. The particular steps in this progress were themselves most plainly apparent in the temples, the interiors and vicinity of which contained specimens of each period of development: they were art-museums, in which the objects of daily life which had fallen out of use were preserved, as, *e.g.*, the ancient Peloponnesian bar-money in the Heræum (vol. i. pp. 255–6). The wealthier cities, princes, and citizens founded at their own expense treasuries at Delphi, Olympia, Ephesus, and Samos, where the dedicatory gifts were deposited and came to form manifold monuments of the plastic art of the nation.

The national unity as developed in art.

The reconciliation of the differences between the tribes effected by art appears most clearly in the

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case of that which, as the art of arts, the Greeks called Poesy (*i.e.* creation), and in the first instance in Homer.

The national Epos.

Songs, owing their origin more than any others to the people itself and to its deeds (*i.e.* to the first common undertakings of a mixed group of members of the same tribe, the great military migrations of the Æolians and Achæans), and afterwards woven into a whole by the art of the Ionian bards, combined into one rich mirror of the Heroic past common to all; and notwithstanding the gradual character of their growth and progress, notwithstanding the participation of the most various tribes, cities, and schools, forming as it were one body in speech and language and in their views of life,—such songs necessarily were a common treasure of the nation, a sacred monument belonging to the people. The Homeric poetry was the first great performance accomplished by Hellenic genius, after it had raised itself out of the monotonous conditions of the Pelasgian world, an irresistible testimony to the internal connexion existing between all the individual tribes, and to their common mission for harmonious creation in art. In Homer the Hellenes became conscious of themselves; for, while in all other branches of mental development only insecure beginnings had been made, here the common Greek character for the first time found a clear expression. Therefore Homer became the centre of the national feeling, and a token of mutual recognition as against all barbarians.

Poetry, like the other arts, was first cultivated in circles limited after the fashion of guilds; and this cultivation permitted Epic song to grow up strong and vigorous. Subsequently it was spread by wandering minstrels far abroad from the coast of Asia Minor and the islands off its coasts, particularly from Chios and Samos: the festivals became familiar with it, and it was borne across on the ships into the colonies, and guarded as a communal treasure in the cities. Hence the single states which were desirous of

obtaining a national importance endeavoured to domesticate Homer as a national Hero amongst themselves; and Athens could not mark the commencement of her hegemony in the domains of the mind more effectively and worthily than by taking measures to supply the whole nation with its Homer in as complete and genuine a form as possible. As long as the Homeric songs lived only on the lips of the bards they invigorated the poetic memory of the nation, which possessed itself with untiring zeal of its poet as a living treasure. But after he had been put into writing, this same Homer became the foundation of all scientific culture; for his sake men learnt to read and write; and on the Black Sea as well as in Gaul and Spain the Greeks preserved their nationality by causing their children to grow up at school with Homer.

Influence of Apollo

But the later centuries were not merely restricted to guarding and working the common treasure of Hellenic poetry, which the happiest combination of circumstances had brought forth in Asia Minor. When with those mountain-tribes which knew nothing of Agamemnon and Achilles, a copious stream of new popular forces had flowed into history, and the connexion of these tribes with the worship of Apollo caused a new beginning to be made everywhere, which asserted itself in political constitutions, religion and manners, architecture and sculpture: then a similar result was simultaneously achieved in poetry; and it was the Pythian Apollo who, in the case of this art, by means of his priesthood revealed himself to a most peculiar degree as a legislator of the mind.

Though Apollo is by no means a stranger to the Homeric world, yet it was in the post-Homeric world, and especially from Delphi, that he first established his influence on the Greek view of life. This influence presented many points of contrast with Ionic poetry. To a harmless life from day to day, in nature and the world, are opposed the demands of close self-examination to the free and open development of all the gifts

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belonging to an individual, a strict discipline in the case both of every individual and of the entire body of men united as a state; instead of an unsuspicious communion between gods and men, a gulf is fixed between them, and man is taught to feel the want of expiation; in the place of easy self-content, a demand arises for an unwearying search and labour of the mind. These were the ideas which had been developed at Delphi. For their realisation the national powers of the Dorians were above all employed, who by themselves were not creative discoverers of ideas, but well adapted under the guidance of superior and far-seeing mental capacities to represent a civil community according to Delphic principles, which in itself was more vigorous, thorough, and lasting, than anything which could spring from the tendencies of Asiatic Ionia.

and Dionysus.

But the Pythian Apollo, so far from being opposed with a dry and cold morality to the Greek world, was himself the original source of all creative power, and the author of every higher moral effort; and into his circle all were drawn whose mental powers were akin to his own. Apollo was the god of the Muses. The Muses are nymphs of the springs, the inspiring power of which was no stranger to the religion of Apollo. The Muses connect Apollo and Dionysus. Both had equal share in Delphi; they divided amongst one another the possession of the Parnassus, the festive year of Delphi, and the pediments of the Delphic temple. Orpheus, the son of the Muses, was a singer inspired equally by Apollo and by Dionysus. The instruments of either god, the cither and the flute, were at Delphi combined so as to form for all times the foundations of Greek music. Dionysus was the god of the peasantry, the bestower of the fullest festive enjoyment in the free conditions of a life led simply according to the laws of nature. While, then, Apollo rather assembled around him the chosen heads of the people who possessed a sense of his high art and of the ideal duties of civil and religious life, Delphi was,

by means of the worship of Dionysus, at the same time the centre of a genuinely popular tendency. This important combination of the two gods of song and ardent festive enjoyment alone made it possible for the Delphic god to attain to a legislative power as to poetry and music, and to give form and authority in this matter also to the really Hellenic elements.

The music art of Apollo.

The music art of Apollo is animated by the same idea as all artistic efforts conducted from Delphi. The beginning consists in a movement issuing forth from a deeply agitated soul; but this movement has no value in itself, rather does everything depend on mastering without enfeebling it. Art commences as soon as by means of the form man attains to a firm grasp and clear conception of the idea struggling to burst forth from it. Accordingly, there are always two kinds of agents simultaneously co-operating: viz. the words, which express the meaning of the movement; and the sounds, which indicate the general tone of the soul moved to expression: very much as it is said of colour that it gives tone and warmth to a drawing. But the full command of the conscious mind over the idea underlying the form manifests itself in the arrangement of the words according to a fixed tempo, and a regular succession of long and short syllables; the very simplest numerical proportions being, as in architecture, taken as the basis. But as any motion affects the whole man, so the body also must take part in the rhythmical movement of song. After this fashion music, poetry, versification, and the rhythmic dance combine to a whole, which in this harmonious blending is something thoroughly and peculiarly Hellenic. So, as the earliest sculptors were persons of a sacerdotal character, the oracles of Apollo also had their singers and composers of hymns. These formed close guilds, in the midst of which the first songs and melodies in honour of Apollo were invented. The Lycian Olen, the Delphian Philammon, the Cretan Chrysothemis, belonged to such sacred

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minstrels' guilds; and the hymns composed by them were carried, together with the Apolline missions, into all the colonies. The oracles themselves also required men who possessed a command over words and verse, and an ancient tradition even ascribed the invention of the hexameter to the Delphic oracle.

But this influence passed far beyond the worship of the temple and the wants of the oracle. For in this matter, again, the priests were, for the purpose of raising the national importance of their sanctuary, unceasingly engaged in encouraging all popular tendencies of art corresponding to their own principles, in attracting the leading men of genius to Delphi, assigning them seats of honour in the sanctuary, and honouring their memory in every possible way, even after death. Thus schools of poets came to form themselves, which were no less intimately connected with the sanctuary than were the art of sacred architecture and hieratic sculpture.

The school of Hesiod.

The most important school of the kind is that identified with the name of Hesiod. He is the first didactic poet, who, nourished by Delphic wisdom, came before the people and endeavoured to explain to them the whole idea and purpose of this wisdom, previously only communicated in brief sentences. In a form of expression perfectly cognate to these Delphic sayings, the poems united under the name of Hesiod gave circumstantial precepts for the different classes of human society, for knights and for peasants, and concerning both private and public life. In other poems myths of the gods and Heroes were brought together, in order to separate what claimed universal acceptance from that which was merely to have a local significance and was thus given up to oblivion. With the name of Ægimius (vol. i. p. 110) was connected a representation of the Doric normal state; the myth of Hellen was poetically elaborated, and all human relations touched upon by the poems of Hesiod are subordinated to a divine superintendence. Evidently

we have in them, uniformly, ideas of the Delphic priesthood, moral ideas and political, which are decidedly opposed to those which moved the Homeric world. Accordingly, Homer and Hesiod were regarded as the two cardinal points of the Greek conception of the world. According to an extremely significant myth, they stood opposed to one another as rivals in a competitive contest; and the circumstance that this myth represents Hesiod as having obtained the victory at Chalcis is explained from the intimate connexion between that city and Delphi; the Apolline hymns were nowhere chanted so habitually as at Chalcis; and it is known how that city never wearied in placing the flower of her youth at the disposal of the Delphic god. There also existed in Bœotia up to a late period sacrificial associations of the Hesiodic Muses, in order to foster in common the principles of this priestly style of poetry. This opposition between the two Epic schools explains the notion of the ancients, that it was Homer and Hesiod who settled for the Greeks in the world of their gods.

Schools of Lyric poetry.

In Lyric poetry, again, two tendencies asserted themselves, both springing from the island of Lesbos, a home of song, where the Æolians who had immigrated from Bœotia had found the means of an unusually felicitous development. Both these tendencies grew out of the same germ, and were closely connected with the stringed music of the lyre. But as the one had its roots principally in the domestic circle, in the changing events of daily life and in personal feelings, and ardently sent forth in song the deepest emotions of the mind (viz. in Lyric poetry, as it was brought to an artistic perfection from about the 40th to the 50th Olympiad by Alcæus and Sappho), the Delphic god could only take pleasure in the second kind, which kept apart from the changeful feelings of stormy passion and bitter party spirit, and rather constituted what found universal acceptance and was permanent the subject of song. By the

Alcæus and Sappho.

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transplantation of the germs of this kind of song from Delphi to the mainland, a Doric lyric poetry sprang up; deserving the name of Doric only in this sense, that it was fostered under the influence of the same priesthood under which the Doric state and the Doric architecture had been perfected. For as the founder of this lyrical school, Terpander, was a native of Antissa on Lesbos, so its members also came from regions far removed from the territory of the Doric tribe. Alcman was a Lydian by birth, and Stesichorus came from the Chalcidian, and in the main Ionic, city of Himera. However great a difference existed between the gifts and tendencies of these masters, yet they in so far form a common school, as their poetry was confined to a kind of musical composition which, though admitting of a variety of forms, was yet fixed according to strict laws and an immutable tradition. The seven-stringed lyre of Terpander, the tones of which comprehended precisely an octave, remained in its simplicity the instrument which gave the law to all. Rhythm and versification expressed a calm condition of the soul, a manly and resolute disposition from which all turbid passion was excluded; so that with a lofty elevation of the mind was combined strict measure. Song had a public character; for it expressed what had an equal significance for all, viz. religious worship and civil society. In this, as in plastic art, a self-restrained and reverential treatment of all divine personages was a sacred principle; and when Stesichorus had, according to the judgment of the priests, violated the latter with respect to Helen, he had solemnly to recall his words: so strict a discipline was Delphi capable of exercising. But the main point consisted in the choral character of the songs. Rival choirs sang the great "Pythian song," at Delphi, to the accompaniment of cither and flute; and in all Dorian states the choral song and dance served to make the citizens from the days of their youth conscious of their membership of a harmonious body,

Terpander.

Alcman. Ol. xl. circ. (B.C. 620.)

Stesichorus. Ol. l. circ. (B.C. 580.)

Doric lyric poetry.

and ready to subordinate all their personal feelings to the expression of the same religious and political sentiments. It was in the same century in which Sparta for the second time reduced the Messenians to a state of submission that Doric lyric poetry also attained to its fullest perfection in Sparta. The language of this art was no more purely Doric than the authors and masters of it were Dorians. It was altogether no natural dialect, but an artistic language which all the poets of choral song adopted, even if they were themselves Æolians and Ionians. This dialect was used by Tyrtæus himself, as soon as he composed war-songs for Sparta. It is the same of which reminiscences linger in Hesiod's hieratic poems, and which predominates in the songs of Pindar; it recurs wherever the influence of Delphi is perceptible, and wears a character of ceremonial solemnity similar to that of the hieratic style in the sculpture in the service of the temples. Hence it is impossible to refuse to recognise the legislative influence of Delphi, as well in reference to language as to the entire development of so eminent a part of the common national property of the Hellenes as Doric lyric poetry.

Tyrtæus.

Thus the development of Greek art was in fact not wholly independent, but was extensively influenced by the priesthood. Yet only of popular germs was the growth encouraged; for even what might have received a firmer shape by impulses derived from foreign culture had long rested as a divination deep in the heart of the people, and had especially been a treasure in the possession of the less gay and more solitary tribes in the mountains of Northern Greece. The innate elements of genius which had grown up here and there among the people were with great wisdom brought into common co-operation. Hence no real opposition arose between artistic and popular, between priestly and natural, poetry. No foreign branches were engrafted upon the natural growth of

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the tree. The exact reverse occurred. The influence of Delphi was absolutely requisite for the production of a truly national poetry, the exercises in art which had made way in the most various localities being united in order to aid one another, and thus becoming conscious of the objects common to them all. The development of Greek art remained genuinely national, and came to form a united movement, coherent in itself, and supported by an inner harmony, and independent of single events and persons. For however highly the authority of a leading artist was esteemed among the Hellenes, and however firmly they adhered to what had once proved itself as good, yet in Greek literature no individuals were ever able to exercise so arbitrary an influence on composition and language, and on the style of the arts, as was, *e. g.*, the case among the Romans.

Unity of the arts.

Finally, the action of Delphi as a spiritual centre in all arts to which its influence reached tended to produce this effect, that, as they were animated by *one* spirit, so they now united for a common purpose. And it must be remembered that one chief peculiarity of Greek artistic life consists in this, that the different branches of art, instead of moving along by the side of one another, are engaged in a living co-operation. The service of the temple comprehends the whole variety of these efforts. In honour of the same god the columns rise to bear the tabulature of marble, the courts as well as the pediments and metopes of the temple are filled with statuary, and the inner walls of the temples are adorned with woven tapestry, the place of which is afterwards taken by the art of painting. The same divine glory is served by the hymn and the song of victory, by music and the dance. Therefore the Greeks conceived the Muses as a choir, and were unable to represent to themselves the single goddesses as individuals separated from the rest of this assembly; and in Apollo they saw the leader of this choir of the Muses. It was no poetic metaphor for the Greeks,

but a religious belief, which they displayed in a grand group of statuary in the front of the temple at Delphi. And thus the Delphic Apollo really stands in the centre of all the higher tendencies of scientific inquiry and artistic efforts as the guiding genius of spiritual life, which he, surrounded by the chosen heads of the nation, conducts to a grand and clear expression of its totality, by this means founding an ideal unity of the Greek people.

Delphi as a political centre;

The Delphic sanctuary was, however, not only the ideal centre of the world of Greece, but inasmuch as the rest were mere single states, and no federal system of equal extent and authority had been called into life, it was the one and sole centre possessed by the Greek nationality in its relations to foreign countries as well as to the individual states.

its relations to foreign countries.

None of the other sanctuaries had been able to achieve a similar importance, not even the most considerable and influential among their number, such as the Artemisium at Ephesus and the Didymæum at Miletus. The latter in particular, which would have had the best chance of rivalling Delphi, was in a disadvantage by not being an Amphictyonic centre of the Ionian cities. Everywhere the Ionian sanctuaries had been unable to maintain a perfectly defined contrast against non-Hellenic Asia. At home and abroad Delphi was recognised as the centre of genuine Hellenic life; and it was accordingly to Delphi that foreign princes and states applied when desirous of entering into closer relations with the Greek nation. It was by means of the Delphic priesthood that they sought to obtain influence over the Hellenes; it was at Delphi that they endeavoured to explore for their purposes the treasure of Greek wisdom. As early as the 10th Olympiad Phrygian princes sent dedicatory gifts to Delphi: their example was followed by the kings of Lydia, who made the fortunes of their empire depend on the words of the

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Pythia. The Western nations, as soon as colonisation had made them acquainted with Greek culture, heard of the fame of Delphi. On the Etrurian coast it was especially the ancient Tyrrhenian city of Agylla which about the time of Cyrus placed her dedicatory gifts in a treasury of her own at Delphi, and endeavoured by closely connecting herself with the Apolline sanctuary to preserve her half-lost Greek nationality. The Tarquinii, who sprang from the same Tyrrhenian land, did homage to the Delphic oracle, and the Roman Republic kept up this connexion. The foreign states thus obtained rights of hospitality at the common hearth of Greece, as Delphi was called; relations were entered upon of the highest importance for the wealth and influence of the oracle, as well as for the promotion of the sea-trade so closely allied to the interests of Delphi. Hellas quitted her position as a single country, in order to take part in a widely-extending intercourse of nations, and nowhere more than at Delphi was the beautiful custom of a relation of mutual hospitality which unites not only single families, but whole communities, states and peoples, with one another, cherished and encouraged. The sanctity of the rights of hospitality was a principal point in the Delphic system of international law. For this reason, on the painting of the Lesche, representing the fall of Troja, there appeared, in the midst of the ruins of the city whose violation of the rights of hospitality had brought destruction upon her, Antenor, who, like Rahab in Jericho, was spared by the conquerors, and issued forth unhurt with his whole family, because he had entertained the Greek envoys, Menelaus and Odysseus, as his *hospites*. The foreign states were introduced to the Pythia by Greek communities; and thus it was the Corinthians who placed the dedicatory gifts of the Mermnadæ in their treasury, as did the Massaliotes those of the Romans.

Far more difficult were the relations of Delphi with the Greek states. For, as long as it was a mere

assemblage of tribes which gathered round the Amphictyonic god, they formed together a body of which the centre was the sanctuary of Apollo. But as soon as under his influence the tribes changed into regular states, these naturally laid claim to a higher degree of independence, and this necessarily provoked contradictions of various kinds. A certain right of superintendence is readily conceded to the Pythia. For this purpose officers are appointed as representatives of the oracle in all states connected with Delphi; among these the Pythii in Sparta, the tent-fellows of the kings, the Exegetæ of sacred law at Athens nominated by the Pythia, the colleges of Theori in Ægina, Mantinea, Trœzene, and other civic communities. They unwearyingly exhort to obedience to the divine law, which is inviolable; they animadvert upon every falling-off from the common Hellenic ordinances, and provide for the execution of the commands issued at Delphi. For the Pythia not only exercises a superintendence and guardianship, but also puts forth edicts and demands. She demands, *e.g.*, that those polluted by guilt shall be expelled from the civic communities; she requires a military levy in order to protect herself against her foes and to punish the overthrow of a constitution approved by her. She commands civil strife to cease, and mediates in party and border-feuds; she directs one state to seek for aid from the other, as, *e.g.*, Sparta from Athens in the second Messenian war, or the Ætolians from the Pelopidæ at Helice (vol. i. p. 173); she settles the international relations of the single states, as when she bids the Mantineans transport the remains of Arcas from Mænalia into their city, and thus assume the authority of a capital of Arcadia. Finally, she brings order into the constitutions of the single states, or reserves for herself the right of ratifying all new constitutions. Even Clisthenes recognised this right with reference to his new civic tribes.

Delphi as a supreme political and judicial authority.

Delphi, itself under the rule of families, was every-

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where the champion of the aristocratic form of government; and its influence was connected with the authority of the ancient families. As a contrast to the loose union subsisting between the citizens of the Ionian communities, Delphi demanded a system of strict order, such as had been most completely realised among the Dorians, who were schooled according to Delphic principles. Every counter movement, every constitutional change without the permission of the Pythia, amounted to a revolution. Hence the conflict between the oracle and the Tyrants, who with their states had fallen off from Delphi, and had transplanted the tendency of the new-Ionian cities upon the domain of the states obedient to Apollo. The Sicyonian Clisthenes was, in contrast to the ancient national sovereign Adrastus, called a hangman by the oracle.

Legislation of Delphi in the colonies.

Delphi exercised the most unrestrained sway in the colonies; for during the great period of colonisation in the eighth and seventh centuries, it could not confine itself to pointing out localities, but had to aid in absolving the vast variety of other tasks which the establishment of a civil society involved. But nowhere was the soil so well adapted for the Anti-Delphic development of public affairs, nowhere was the danger of an illegal rule of force so threatening, as in the colonies, where the mixture of population and the early appearance of inequality of possessions, inevitably provoked party feuds with all their results. Hence the island of Sicily was called a mother of the Tyrants, and phases which in Hellas were mere periods of transition, in the colonies almost became permanent forms of government.

For the establishment of law and order on so dangerous a ground, written laws were here necessary at a time when the states of the mother-country were still administered according to unwritten tradition. For in proportion as no code of manners universally prevailed, a system of laws of fixed validity soon became necessary; and since it was impossible to

establish constitutions in the colonies, which proceeded on the recognition of hereditary rights of the nobility and on an expectation of an unchanging order of things, it was most to the purpose here to favour such institutions as in commercial and maritime cities were as well as possible adapted to meet with general recognition, and to prevent the government from degenerating into mob-rule or the despotic sway of Tyrants. These were the timocratic constitutions, which arrange the citizens in divisions, and determine the measure of their rights according to the standard of property. In this way were formed committees of citizens, composed of the largest proprietors, and to some extent corresponding to an aristocracy. The traditionary number was one thousand, and such committees of citizens occur at Rhegium, Croton, Locri, Agrigentum, and Cyme. In the colonies men earliest accustomed themselves to introduce legal institutions, which had proved their value elsewhere, like an invention of manufacturing industry. Thus it also happened in the case of the written constitutions.

Timocracies.

The circumstance that among these that of the Locrians of Lower Italy was the most ancient, is explained by the fact, that here an unusually mixed population had formed itself of Ozolians, and Opuntians, of Corinthians, Lacedæmonians, and a variety of other nations; a population which could only be made to cohere by means of precise regulations of public law. Therefore the Delphic god bade the Locrians make laws for themselves; and the result was (about the middle of the seventh century) the legislation of Zaleucus, the first written legislation known to the ancients; a selection, adapted to the local circumstances, from the laws at that time prevailing in the most approved states of the mother-country. The statutes of the Areopagus were normal for the penal code, and Crete and Sparta for civil discipline; but wise changes were made in each case; for strangers could not be refused residence in a town like Locri,

Zaleucus of Locri.

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though the citizens might be forbidden to wander abroad. The sale of landed property was also hampered, and restrictions placed upon trade in so far as it was a petty and retail traffic; articles were only to be sold by their producers. The desire for innovation was precluded as much as possible, and even the question, always on the lips of every Ionian, "Any news to-day?" was prohibited. On the other hand, here again a census existed, according to which a more limited body of citizens was formed in the midst of the other inhabitants; and in reference to private rights more definite rules were for the first time laid down, which enable us to form conclusions as to the complicated relations of civil society.

Just as the Cretan and Lacedæmonian laws were cognate and homogeneous with one another, the laws of Charondas, rather later in date than those of Zaleucus, agreed with their predecessors. Charondas, in his native city of Catana, endeavoured by means of a fixed system of laws to convert the turbulent Siceliotes into good citizens. He understood how to open up a wider sphere of action for the Ionic character, without at the same time endangering the permanent security of civil order. As time only proved the value of his laws, they were more and more universally introduced into the Chalcidian towns. Nay, the Chalcidian municipal law was in later centuries even adopted by inland towns of Asia Minor, because they recognised in its adoption the surest guarantee of true Hellenic progress. Thus the tasks incumbent upon legislation among the civic population of the Western colonies had led to the establishment of constitutions which, equally independent of local conditions and of the tendencies of the individual tribes, were impressed with a common Hellenic character, and admitted of being spread so far by means of their national authority.

Charondas of Catana.

Accordingly, if the laws of Zaleucus have been called Doric, this appellation can only be justified on the ground that he, and similarly Charondas and the

author of the constitution of the Thracian Chalcidians, Androdamas of Rhegium, carried out principles derived from the same source as the institutions of Crete and Sparta. Among these the first principle was this, that the ancient houses and families in the towns should be maintained with all possible care, in order that ancient manners and religion might be handed down in them; and they further comprehended an indissoluble union between law and morality, a vigorous resistance against every tendency to innovation, a restriction of the love of commerce, and an endeavour to attain to a public spirit based on loyalty and love of truth. Hence it cannot appear strange that Zaleucus, as well as Charondas, is brought into connexion with Pythagoras: a connexion founded on no other idea than this, that the wisdom of all is derived from the Pythian Apollo, whose lofty principles Pythagoras introduced into human life in their greatest purity and perfection, but as a consequence also with the least success. The Crotoniate youth, inspired by his ideas, were too sharply and immediately opposed, like a spiritual aristocracy, to the rest of the citizens. For though the rights of the latter remained untouched, yet they could not suffer a small group, united by community of property and the same moral discipline, to desire to be, and actually to be, better than the rest.

The Pythagoreans.

In the last years of the sixth century, years distinguished in very different localities by violent risings of citizens, immediately after the expulsion of the Tarquins from Rome and of the Pisistratidæ from Athens, the Pythagoreans were subjected to the heavy persecution which originated among the furious inhabitants of Croton, under the leadership of Cylon, and for a long time covered the whole of Lower Italy with the ravages of civil war. True, the precious germs implanted by the teaching of Pythagoras were not wholly lost, even in Italy. Even over luxurious Tarentum a man of this school, Archytas, as late as the 100th Olympiad, was able to rule by Pythagorean civic virtue. The

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Apolline music and mathematical arts, a wise rule of life of which self-command was the basis, and a thorough and harmonious culture of the gifts of body and mind the purpose, made him the model of a genuine Hellene in the midst of a degenerate people. By the force of his personality he once more succeeded in surrounding with honour and authority those principles of which the origin is to be sought at Delphi. It is *one* spirit which lives in the above-mentioned constitutions; it is the Hellenic spirit, which found in them its most valid expression; and were the written statutes of the great legislators of the Western colonies preserved to us, their dialect and style of language would clearly attest the Delphic influence by which they were animated.

Decline of the influence of Delphi in the mother-country

The power of Delphi necessarily receded precisely in proportion as the single states claimed for themselves complete independence from all priestly guardianship, and a full political sovereignty of their own. The state of Lycurgus was for a long time the favourite of the Delphic god, the model state among his colonies, the strong arm for his mundane plans, and intended by him to occupy the position of a federal capital in Hellas. But as soon as Sparta made herself free from the mother-sanctuary, and retired upon her Peloponnesian interests, the Ionian tribe came to hold the first place with its two states, Sicyon and Athens, which endeavoured to raise themselves to the position of great powers by attaching themselves to the sanctuary now standing in need of protection (vol. i. p. 265). The importance of Sicyon was transitory, but Athens maintained her eminence. She remained in close relations with Delphi, without renouncing her independence; and in this instance too she knew how to combine liberty and progress with piety and loyalty. Thus Delphi, instead of standing, as formerly, at the head of a federation of tribes whose only point of union

was supplied by the sanctuary, was now placed between two states, by the side of which the power of all the rest fell far into the background; for Delphi, powerless in itself, everything accordingly depended on its relation to the two states in question.

Where Delphi could no longer command and rule, it entered upon the course of a crafty policy, and the same priesthood with which the purest principles of morality had originated, now endeavoured, while inclining at one time to this and at another to that side, to maintain itself by intrigue and all kinds of dishonourable means. The more that the gold of Asia—the poison which destroyed the health of Hellenic life—asserted its influence in Delphi, as well as elsewhere; the more that it became a notorious fact, first through the Alcmæonidæ, and afterwards through Cleomenes, who with the help of the oracle wished to rid himself of his colleague in office, Demaratus, that the god's answers might be bought, the lower his authority necessarily fell among the Greeks. About that time Delphi had ceased to be a central power; the unity represented by it is dissolved, and in its place two states stand opposed to one another, each of which sought to give a new unity to the people by claiming the position of a federal capital: a conflict of claims which could only be decided by war.

But the development to which European Greece had at that period attained, and her national character, as definitely established in all departments of intellectual activity, in religion and ethical views of life, in political constitution, in architecture and sculpture, music and poetry—a character forming a decided and conscious contrast to the barbarians, of which we cannot discover even a trace in the Homeric world—all this was essentially a result of the influence of Delphi. Accordingly we so often find Delphic, Doric, and Ionic to be interchangeable terms.

In the colonies no second Delphi arose, and the pious reverence for the ancient mother-sanctuary was

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and the colonies.

extinguished by the reckless love of innovation characterising the cities beyond the sea. Asia Minor had also renounced her allegiance, without finding a compensation in any native sanctuary. This offers an additional explanation of the fact, that notwithstanding the brilliant advance of Greek culture in the Eastern and Western colonies, and notwithstanding the arrogance with which the colonies looked upon the mother-country (not unlike the colonies on the other side of the Atlantic and their views of "old Europe"), yet the central land came to be Hellas proper, the real theatre of Hellenic history, and the most lasting home of Hellenic culture. The rupture with the ancient institutions, the contempt of old-world tradition, and a reckless movement ahead, might hasten the development of these cities, but could offer no pledge of enduring culture and liberty. The rapid advance was followed by as precipitate a decay, even as a too luxuriant youth is generally succeeded by a premature old age. How brief was the succession of generations in which the vitality of the most flourishing colonies exhausted itself! How feeble was their strength to resist the assaults of the barbarians! On the other hand, the states of Central Hellas, under the beneficent discipline of the Pythian Apollo, or by a spontaneous adoption of the rules of life which had issued from him, obtained those firm foundations on which they were able victoriously to overcome the internal party conflicts which no Greek commonwealth was spared, and the attacks on their independence from without.

At the time of the Persian wars Delphi was a mere shadow of what it had been, and incapable of representing the common interests of the nation when a great calamity befell the latter. The oracle proved cowardly and irresolute, and even forbade the states to act with resolution, as happened to the Cnidians, Cretans, and Argives; so that the authors of all the great deeds of that period were single states.

And yet Delphi, in a certain sense, remained the

centre of Hellas; it remained the common sanctuary, of which the single states, when it suited them, revived the pristine importance; it remained the common hearth of the Hellenes. In the midst of the states separating farther and farther from one another, it retained its character of the neutral ground on which was deposited whatever was to possess a national importance. But what continued to exist was merely a number of forms. The original significance of the sanctuary was so utterly forgotten, that, in most direct contradiction of its laws, the memory even of victories obtained by the sanguinary arms of Hellenes over other Hellenes was perpetuated by monuments at Delphi.

CHAPTER V.

THE CONFLICTS WITH THE BARBARIANS.

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Spread of the Greek tribes and its consequences.

The Greek tribes had spread along all the coasts of the Mediterranean with a feeling of security as perfect as if they were alone in the world, and by the grace of God possessed a right of property in every fair strand abounding with harbours. Of course, they remained undisturbed in these possessions, as long as the population dwelling in their rear looked on quietly and allowed the Greeks to go their own way. But matters could not always remain in this state. The inland tribes came in their turn to discover that the advantages of their own land were reaped by strangers. Envy and jealousy arose in their breasts; they pushed forward towards the sea; and now commenced a series of periodical disputes between Hellenes and barbarians. These ended in lengthy wars, in which the Hellenic cities had to defend their easily-won possessions, their flourishing prosperity, and their national independence. With these conflicts the people of the Hellenes first enters the circle of ancient universal history; and with them first commences a connected Greek history. In these conflicts the opposition between the Hellenic and the non-Hellenic, of which the origin belongs to the previous century, attains to perfect consciousness; it is their dangers which form a new bond of Greek nationality after the dissolution of the Amphictyonic national union, and their results which decide all the future destinies of the Hellenes.

These conflicts necessarily commenced on the eastern border of the Hellenic world, because it was here that an inland state first developed itself, which was both able and willing to attack the Greeks of the coasts.

This was not one of the ancient states; for the ancient empires of the East, as long as no foreign elements had intruded into them, had an invincible horror of the water. Themselves originally placed in extensive mountain-tracts or fertile river-valleys, they felt no need of relations with countries beyond: the caravan and river trade sufficed, and what foreign countries thus gained of the native treasures of these empires, passed through the hands of nations who were allowed with perfect indifference to enjoy these profits. These nations were, first, the Phœnician, and afterwards the Greek.

Thus on the coast of Asia also the foreign trading-towns had been seen to rise and become strong and great. They were not disturbed in their diets and festive assemblages; they were even left in tranquil possession of the lower river-valleys, as far as the latter, severed by a natural division from the inland district, belong to the coast. It would almost appear that the Asiatic princes voluntarily adhered to the border between the shore and the interior as the boundary of their dominions in a more limited sense.

The nations in question found these concessions redound to their absolute gain; for the foreign settlements and numerous newly-founded towns naturally led to an exceedingly brisk traffic, and gave a new and many times higher value to the natural products and manufactures of the interior. As good tradesmen, the Greeks were always anxious to be on good terms with the Asiatics and to acquire their confidence. Accordingly they visited the fairs of the Asiatics, purchased their productions, gave orders of all kinds, and themselves settled among them, in order to carry on the trade with the coast-towns with greater vigour, while, by means of their accomplishments, they knew

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how to make themselves agreeable, useful, and in the end indispensable. Such was particularly the case in the capitals of the empires of Asia Minor.

Relations between the Greeks and the Phrygians.

Among the latter, that of the Phrygians was by descent qualified above the rest to enter into close intercourse with the Greeks. We accordingly find among the Phrygians the earliest traces of a connexion between coastlands and interior. The Neleidæ at Miletus introduce Phrygian names into their families (vol. i. p. 250); and about the time of the first Messenian war there lived a King Midas, who was on terms of intimate friendship with the citizens of Cyme: he took to wife a Cymæan lady of the name of Hermodice, and through Cyme connected himself with the mother-city Chalcis, and through Chalcis again with Delphi. It was a brilliant era in the annals of the sanctuary, when about the same time the first Chalcidico-Delphic colony was founded on Sicily, and the royal throne of Midas, the first dedicatory gift of the East, was set up before the Pythian temple. The Æolico-Ionic poets also paid their homage to the wealthy and munificent king, as the tradition proves which makes Homer to have composed his epitaph when he died, Ol. xxi. 2.

Ol. xxi. 2. (B.C. 695.)

This ancient nation of the Phrygians was, however, driven back by the Semitic immigrations, which penetrated into Asia Minor from the south-east, and established themselves there at the period of the Assyrian dominion. Phrygia itself is said to have been subjected as early as the reign of Ninus. The Phrygians were as little capable as the ancient Pelasgians of resisting foreign influences, because their own native civilisation had not sufficiently progressed; accordingly their manners and religion underwent essential changes through the influence of the Semites.

The most important influence of this kind in Asia Minor proceeded from the Lydians (vol. i. p. 76). They were infinitely less familiarly known to the Greeks of the coasts than the Phrygians; but for this very reason

the effect exercised by them was all the more potent and productive of results, as was the case wherever Semitic populations came into contact with Greeks. The latter learnt many lessons from the former, not only in trade and manufacturing industry, but also in the higher arts, especially in music. For the Semites in general are peculiarly endowed by nature for lyric poetry; and the Lydians, whose popular melodies the Greeks copied in their own, shared this gift. This was the origin of the Greek elegy; and the pathetic rhythm of the Lydians was, together with the Lydian flute, domesticated at Delphi itself. But while the Hellenes beyond the sea only made the germs of the culture of the Lydians their own, the whole history of the Asiatic Hellenes was implicated with that of the Lydians.

Relations between the Greeks and the Lydians.

The history of the Lydians began as early as the dynasty of the Heraclidæ, whose rule commenced with Agron, the son of Ninus and grandson of Belus. The accession of Agron, according to an ancient chronological calculation, falls in the year 1221 B.C. This was the period in which the Ninyadæ made Assyria a conquering empire. Lydia was the western outpost of the Assyrian world-empire. The pedigree of the ruling house, the agreement between the extravagant forms of religious worship, the foundation of cities such as Ninoe in Caria (vol. i. p. 130), and many other events, testify to a close connexion with Ninive on the Tigris. But, together with Assur, Assyrian Lydia also fell into decay; its rulers sought support beyond their own people; they took Greek men into their service and employed them to ensure their personal security and serve as ornaments and supports of their throne. The mercenaries contrived by their superior energy to gain more and more ground, and their captains to acquire a rising influence by the side of a degenerate royal dynasty. In this the commander of the royal spearmen in the time of Candaules above all succeeded to such a degree that he took the reins of government entirely into his hands, and was by the weak king

CHAP. V. himself invested with royal insignia of honour, and permitted to bear the double axe as well as the king, a symbol of the supreme power. At last the powerful prætorian found the right opportunity for putting an end to the mock-rule of the dynasty. By means of a secret understanding with the queen, Candaules was made away with, and a new dynasty established with the aid of Carian mercenaries, brought as auxiliaries by Arselis. About the same period, when the empire of Assur was drawing near to its dissolution, in the east the Medes renounced their allegiance to Ninive, while in the south Babylon once more seceded as an
747 B.C. independent empire (747 B.C.). In connexion with these movements, which violently affected the entire East, Lydia also threw off the Abyssinian yoke, and at last, freed from a ban of many years, towards the end of the eighth century entered upon an entirely new course of national life.

The Mermnadae in Lydia. *Ol.* xvi. *circ.* (B.C. 716.) *King Gyges.*

This was no mere change of dynasty; it was a revolution in the whole political character of the state. The bold captain of mercenaries, who in consequence of the palace-revolt mounted the throne of the Sandonidæ under the name of Gyges, was in no way connected with the East. He was not even of Lydian race, but belonged to the coast-population, to the race of the Mermnadæ, whose home was doubtless in Caria. In that country was a famous hot-spring (perhaps identical with Carura in the valley of the Mæander, to the north of Ninive, on the borders of Lydia and Phrygia), in the vicinity of which lay the "district of Dascyles," and this was the name borne by the father of Gyges. The double axe which the latter arrogated to himself, even while nothing but a mere commander of mercenaries, was a Carian symbol of power; and by an importation of Carian soldiers he supported his new throne.

Of all Greek tribes the Carians had to the greatest extent intermixed with Semitic populations (vol. i. p. 50). Already, in the time of Minos, as many of

them as had not lost themselves in the Greek states had been driven back upon the mainland of Asia: they had subsequently been partly subjected by the Ionian and Dorian settlers, as, *e.g.*, the Gergithians, who formed an oppressed class of the community at Miletus, and partly pushed still further away from the coast. Having remained behind in the march of culture as compared with the Ionians, they were looked upon by the latter with contempt, and treated with reckless arrogance; so that from the days of the foundation of towns, when the new settlers had made Carian women widows, and then forced them into new wedlock, an unextinguishable enmity prevailed between Carians and Ionians. Hence the latter were far more inclined to associate with the Lydians and Mysians than with the Greeks; the Didymæum at Miletus was acknowledged as a common sanctuary, not by them, but only by the Ionians and Æolians. Abroad, too, the Ionians and Carians were so prone to disagree, that in Egypt they had to be established on different sides of the river (vol. i. p. 425). But in proportion as the Carians were excluded from the real town-life of Ionia, they, in accordance with the ancient custom of their race, followed the trade of war; and the advantages which in a favourable case they were able to draw from it are evidenced by the fortune of Gyges.

Accordingly the consequences may be conceived of the accession of a Carian mercenary to the throne of Lydia, as well as the terror which the news necessarily produced in all the cities of Ionia. For how could the Mermnadæ ascend the throne with any other intention than that of extending their power to the west, incorporating the coast-towns, founding a Lydo-Carian naval power, and above all taking vengeance on the arrogant Ionians? They meant to show what a state can do which combined the Greek spirit of enterprise with the treasures of gold and the national forces of the interior.

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Sardes, the ancient city of Cybele, which, situate on the declivity of vine-clad Tmolus on both sides of the Pactolus, overlooked from its castled height the fertile Hermus valley, had already previously been the centre of the empire. But now it attained to a new significance and a new activity; it became a military camp, in which the sound of arms never ceased, where new plans and new armaments were always being carried on. The state had suddenly shifted its front from the east to the west, and the chief thought of the Mermnadæ was to obtain dominion over favourably-situated places on the coast. Very sagaciously the more powerful maritime cities, which were less accessible to conquest, were in the first instance spared, and it was sought to obtain the command of the sea in the north-west, on the Idæan peninsula, the ancient territory of the Trojan empire. Here the population was Carian, as is evidenced by the occurrence in Elis of the name of the Gergithians, whose alliance was reckoned upon by the Mermnadæ. The Æolian country-towns were little addicted to maritime trade; while of the Ionian sea-ports Miletus had admitted the largest numbers of Carian population (vol. i. p. 412); and as Gyges stood in need of a flourishing sea-port for the execution of his schemes, he employed the cunning Milesians in order to found Abydus in conjunction with himself. He was lord and master in all northern Mysia, as far as beyond the Rhyndacus, in the vicinity of which he built Dascylium in honour of his house.

Thus he ruled on the Propontis and the Hellespont: and nothing can afford a more convincing proof of the wide and at the same time definite views which dictated his policy than that it was here, on the ancient bridge of the nations and that sound of the sea which was most important for naval dominion, that he first established a firm footing.

But at the same he was already pursuing his ambitious designs on the other side of the Hellespont.

Overtures of Gyges to Delphi.

Above all, he, exactly like the Tyrants of Corinth and Sicyon, sought to be recognised by the great oracles. The oracle nearest to him was that of the Branchidæ. But with this the Carian prince cared not to concern himself. He turned to Delphi, and endeavoured to show, by the most liberal acts of homage, that the god of the Hellenes was familiarly known to and adored by him; and although he was not permitted to establish a treasury of his own at Delphi, the royal gifts were accepted without much hesitation. But the fact of their acceptance involved the recognition of the dynasty, which could now in so far count on the Delphic god that the latter would at all events abstain from opposing himself to the further schemes of their policy. The golden mixing-cups and silver vessels were placed in the treasury of the Cypselidæ under the name of Gygadas (child of Gyges), amounting to a quantity of precious metal such as the Greeks had never before seen collected together. Gyges could have sent no more eloquent spokesman to plead his cause at Delphi, where moreover a certain jealousy and envy against the sanctuary of the Branchidæ and the Ionian cities, which refused obedience to the Delphic god, in all probability contributed to produce a state of feeling favourable to the dynasty of the Mermnadæ.

This peaceable kind of contact between Greeks and Lydians could not last for ever; for since the latter held sway at the same time in Æolis and on the Carian coasts, they were the less disposed to allow the central coast-district, the best harbours, the mouths of the four great rivers, to remain in the hands of independent Greek cities. On their way from Sardes and the valley of the Hermus to the sea, the first obstacle was Symrna, which commanded the Hermæan gulf. By the mouth of the Cayster the Colophonians, kinsmen of the Smyrnians, provoked attack by their wealth and obstinate sense of civic independence; nor could any permanent good understanding prevail with

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haughty Miletus, whose flocks and herds grazed in the valley of the Mæander on Carian soil.

The Ionic war.

It was now that the Heroic age of Ionia commenced. All the offers of the king at Sardes, whose intention it could not be to incorporate ruined cities with his empire, were rejected. War was unavoidable; and the first struggles for freedom of the Hellenes broke out.

From the first the cities were in a position of great disadvantage. The connexion with the coasts on the other side was broken; the federal festival on Delos, which had formerly united the Ionians on either side of the sea, had long lost all its significance. The territories of the cities lay stretched out far along the shore, insufficiently protected against the interior, and put off their guard by a long period of calm. They had no relations of alliance with the Dorian towns, whose Triopian sanctuary lay on the peninsula of Cnidus. The Æolian cities indeed joined with the Ionians in the worship of the Didymæan Apollo; but they were powerless, being themselves divided into several groups (among which those of the Idæan peninsula constituted a separate union), and, moreover, the first who, by the advance of the Mermnadæ, had been placed in a condition of dependence. Finally, the Ionian cities had only preserved out of the past a very loose kind of union amongst themselves (vol. i. p. 246). Since the fall of the royal families they had separated more and more, in accordance with the tendency of the Ionic character. The jealousy of the neighbouring trading-cities, the opposition of the two capitals, Ephesus and Miletus, had prevented the accomplishment of a real union and enduring common constitution, above all in military matters. Not even in manners and language were they united amongst themselves. For the original differences prevailing among the earlier coast-population were everywhere to be recognised. Thus the ancient Carian nationality might be traced in the towns lying round the mouth

of the Mæander, in Miletus, Priene, and Myus. A second group was formed by the towns of the Lydian coast, from Ephesus to Phocæa. Chios and Erythræ, again, formed a particular group of towns, whose citizens might be immediately recognised by their dialect. And, finally, Samos had a peculiar dialect and national customs of her own. Sanguinary border-feuds had helped to heighten these differences. Lastly, there was also no lack of important causes of discontent and dispute within the territories of the individual cities themselves, originating in internal party-divisions, and the want of homogeneity in the population. There existed Carian and Lydian village-communities, which only submitted to the rule of Ionian citizens with reluctance. CHAP. V.

All this was to the advantage of the Lydians. Their bands of horsemen broke unexpectedly out of the interior, and, at different times taking different directions, kept the sea-ports in a state of constant anxiety. But it was not so easy to cow the citizens; and though their heroic deeds have found no historian, yet the memory of single episodes has been preserved; nor has the valour of the men of Smyrna fallen into oblivion, who drove the Lydians back through the gates of the city they had already captured.

War had burst forth along the entire line, when the first of the Mermnadæ died, who had sketched out with an unfaltering hand the policy of his house. He was succeeded by Ardys. This prince continued the attacks on Miletus, and by a sudden surprise captured Priene, the city whose territory contained the Panionium. The federation of the cities was torn asunder in its very midst. Miletus, lying close opposite, was menaced from the north on its own bay, and the war seemed to be hurrying on to a rapid decision, when it was suddenly interrupted by events which, from a very different quarter, agitated the whole of Asia Minor. For the conquering empire itself was now threatened by serious dangers of war, and had to

Death of Gyges.

His successor Ardys.

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Cimmerian invasion of Ionia.

Already in Gyges' times the multitudes of the nomadic peoples of horsemen, which inhabit the shores of the Pontus, had fallen into a state of excitement and agitation. The movement began with the Massagetæ, who are said to have driven the Scythians out of their habitations on the Caspian towards the Black Sea; and the Scythians in their turn threw themselves on the Cimmerians. Thus all the shores of the Pontus were disturbed, and the consequences were soon felt throughout Anterior Asia. The Scythians themselves came from the Caspian Sea into the Median empire, the rulers of which endeavoured to render them harmless by admitting large numbers of them into their army. The Cimmerians in a multitude of swarms, one of which was that of the Treres, passed along the east coast of the Pontus in a southward direction, and took possession of the rocky peninsula on which the Milesians had founded Sinope. This city they made their robbers' den, from which they advanced into the interior of Asia Minor, inundated Lydia during the government of Ardys, and even took the lower town of Sardes. In Asia Minor their numbers increased; a variety of discontented populations joined them, especially Lycians, and one of these probably was the Lygdamis who is mentioned as leader of the Cimmerian swarms.

At first the Cimmerians may have appeared to the hard-pressed cities in the light of saviours in time of trouble; the power of the Lydian throne was broken. Yet the maritime towns had long suffered from the interruption of the northern trade, and very soon the troubles of war rolled on towards the sea of Ionia. Like the prophets of the Old Testament, Callinus in Ephesus lifted up his voice to warn the citizens and rouse them out of a false security: "These were not times of peace, as they imagined; the whole earth was now becoming a scene of war:" and before the sound

of his voice had died away the Cimmerians invaded the coast-land. It was the rich temple which tempted them; they pitched their camp of wagons in the fields of the Cayster, and, eager for booty, surrounded the far-famed sanctuary of Artemis. The goddess protected her temple, *i.e.* it was not plundered; but brands were hurled into it, and not till the flames mounted aloft did the hordes pass over into the valley of the Mæander, where, furious at the failure of their enterprise, they destroyed the rich city of the Magnetes. The sudden ruin of Magnesia was a fearful sign of the times, and a terrible proof to the other towns of the indomitable natural vigour of the northern barbarians. The whole civilised world of the Mediterranean, so far as its towns were at that period connected with one another by commerce, quaked with anxiety and fear.

It was fortunate that the Cimmerian hordes had neither the capacity nor the patience requisite for lengthy sieges. They passed on like clouds before the tempest; they only weakened themselves by their hurried movements, devoid of any plan, and only designed to lead to booty, and in the end were annihilated in the mountain-districts of the Taurus.

The eleven years' war between the Mermnadæ and Miletus.

As soon as the cessation of these general national troubles once more brought with it a period of calm, the Mermnadæ again with a vigorous hand seized the reins of government. Sadyattes, the son of Ardys, subdued Phrygia, and then resumed the war against the coast-towns. The principal object of the war was now Miletus. The Ionian federation was now virtually dissolved: Miletus stood absolutely alone. As long as her fortune had lasted, she had made many enemies by her overbearing pride. Her ambiguous relations with Gyges had also damaged her. The result was that, among the Ionians, Chios was the only state which aided the Milesians with its ships. The cities friendly to Miletus beyond the sea were too distant to be able to send aid.

Sadyattes.

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Alyattes.

Miletus never proved herself greater than in these days of endless trouble. At first the burghers attempted to march out against the Lydians. But in the low valley of the Mæander they could not hold their own against enemies so vastly superior in cavalry. Beaten in two battles, they resolved to confine themselves to the defence of their city. They had to look on from the walls and, year after year, see the harvest of their fields and orchards fall into the hands of the foe; their flocks and herds were driven away; their whole manufacturing industry was crushed; intercourse with the country stopped; the country people crowded into the city; and, although their movements were free towards the sea and the shipowners redoubled their exertions, yet it became more difficult from year to year to feed the over-crowded city.

For six years Sadyattes carried on this war: for five years it was continued, and after the same fashion, by his successor Alyattes. In accordance with the policy consistently followed by the Mermnadæ, doubtless under the influence of Delphi, they conducted the war with great self-restraint. They merely seized the harvests as soon as they had ripened, but destroyed no human habitation and violated no seat of religious worship; and when the burning fields had accidentally communicated fire to the temple of Athene at Assesus, Alyattes regarded it as his duty to restore the sanctuary. The rulers of Lydia wished to show that they were as able as the Hellenes to observe the statutes of international law; it was to be a struggle for the hegemony, as between states of equal descent. In this way the Mermnadæ could also hope soonest to form a party for themselves in the cities, which should regard union with the Lydian power as the most salutary policy. There was no want of parties, least of all at Miletus. Here a man had placed himself at the head of the state, who governed with unlimited power as Tyrant, under the name of Thrasybulus. He had with unsparing cruelty rid himself of the

leaders of the adverse party, and flinched at the adoption of no method serving to confirm his despotic rule. CHAP. V.

At such a moment a man of this kind, who was able to keep any movement down with an iron hand and to adhere stedfastly to a fixed aim and object, was of great use to the fortunes of the city. Moreover, he was personally befriended by Periander of Corinth, who furnished him with accurate information as to the affairs of European Greece. Through him, as Herodotus relates, Thrasybulus learnt that Delphi had issued commands to Alyattes speedily to restore the temple. Accordingly, when the king had for this purpose to propose a truce, Thrasybulus (so Herodotus continues) took measures that all the stores which were in the city should before the arrival of the Lydian herald be piled up in the market, and a civic festival celebrated there with all possible appearance of ease and comfort. This spectacle did not miss its effect, for on receiving the herald's report as to the prosperous condition of the Milesians the king lost all hope of ever becoming master of the city by force. Alyattes accordingly preferred to conclude a treaty and alliance with Miletus, and in the place of the temple of Athene, which had been burnt to the ground, two sanctuaries were built in memory of the peaceable termination of this protracted war.

The Medes.

The political conjuncture was to the advantage of the Milesians. Tranquillity on the coast was necessary for Alyattes, because a greater danger threatened from the land side; for it was the independence of the empire or its subjection under Media which was at stake.

Deioces. (709 B.C.)

After the revolt of Ninive the Medes had (709 B.C. *circ.*) adopted a fixed political system under Deioces. Under his son Phraortes they became a conquering military state which subdued all Upper Asia. The sturdy highland tribes of Iran, above all the Persians, formed the main body of the warlike forces with which

Phraortes.

CHAP. V. the Medes had descended into Mesopotamia. They had afterwards vigorously raised themselves out of the pressure put upon them by the Scythians, which had for a time hindered their progress. By admitting amongst them Scythian troops they had increased their power of attack. With these newly-formed armed forces, in which the most various kinds of troops co-operated for a common purpose, disposed as no *Cyaxares.* Eastern army had been before them, Cyaxares, with his ally Nabonassar of Babylon, had resumed the interrupted siege of Ninive, and brought it to a successful termination in the year 606. The city of palaces on the Tigris became a heap of ruins, after having been for more than five centuries the queen of all Anterior Asia. Her throne was void. The princes of Ecbatana hastened to lay claim to the heritage of (B.C. 606.) the Assyrian empire in all its fulness. In Mesopotamia mighty Babylon stood opposed to their advance; accordingly they turned to the west, passing from Armenia, which they had conquered, along the ancient highroad of the migrations of Aryan peoples. The highlands of Cappadocia already belonged to the wide-spreading body of countries in vassalage to the Medes. From these highlands the Medes afterwards pressed further on to Phrygia, and down from the desolate desert-plains towards the river-valleys. Many of the tribes of Asia Minor had willingly bowed down before the new power whose head was throughout the East feared as a mighty and passionate lord of war. A similar submission was expected from the Lydians.

But however terrible the hosts which the Median king and his allies pushed forward upon the western frontier of the empire, the Mermnadæ had no intention of recognising the supreme sovereignty of the dynasty of Ecbatana. They were resolved to hold the line of the Halys, and in a war of six years' duration the Medes speedily perceived that they were now engaged with an enemy such as they had not met with in the interior of Asia.

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In the valley of the Halys the armies lay opposite one another, ready for the battle which was to decide the fate of the whole peninsula. On the one side the warriors of Iran, with the auxiliary troops of Babylon, as well as of eastern and southern Asia Minor; on the other, the Lydian forces, with their Carian, and probably at this period also Ionian, soldiery, inferior to the enemy in numbers, but his equals in courage and warlike experience, and his superiors in strategic art and guiding intelligence. Hence, before the decisive appeal to battle, the Median king himself preferred to acknowledge the Halys as the boundary-line between the empires. In this he was essentially influenced by his allies, the king of Babylon, whom the Greeks called Labynetus, and the Cilician monarch Syennesis, who stood on the side of the Medes with the vigorous tribes of the Taurus country. It was the natural interest of either to prevent the humiliation of Lydia and too overbearing an increase of the great Asiatic empire. The Greek narrators connect this event with the phenomenon of an eclipse of the sun, made known beforehand to the Ionians through Thales, but in so great a degree taking the armies of the combatants by surprise, that, under its influence, they concluded peace. And, in truth, it was the custom of the nations of Iran never to fight except in the light of the sun. Among the eclipses which according to time and locality come into question, the most accurate calculations point to that which on May 28th, 585 B. C., in the land of the Halys changed the dawn of day into night, as the eclipse referred to by the story. If, then, this calculation fixes the epoch of the battle, it was no longer the conqueror Cyaxares, but Astyages, who at that time ruled over the Medes, and the Babylonian king was in that case no other than Nebucadnezar. Pliny, too, looked upon Ol. xlviii. 4 as the year of the eclipse: this was the year in which Periander of Corinth died, while Thales stood in about the fifty-fourth year of his life.

The battle of the Halys. *Ol.* xlviii. 4. *May* 28. B.C. 585.

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Settlement between the Lydians and Medes.

The conclusion of this peace forms a very remarkable epoch in the history of Anterior Asia. It constitutes a renunciation on the part of the conquering empire of unconditional sovereignty over the world, and an attempt to form, by the settlement of boundaries through treaties, a system of states in Asia, which was particularly favoured by the second-class states, who saw in it the best guarantee of their own independence. Lydia was now recognised as a Great Power by the side of Media, the court of Sardes as the equal of that at Ecbatana; and, in order to confirm this alliance, the son of the Median king was married to the daughter of Alyattes.

The subsequent years of the reign of Alyattes.

Alyattes was once more free to turn whither he listed. It was in the direction of the sea-coast that he again amongst the doubly-divided population endeavoured to strengthen the Lydian power, partly by the force of arms, and partly by pacific means. He was successively united in wedlock to Carian and Ionian women; of his daughters, he had bestowed one upon Melas, a citizen of high repute at Ephesus and a member of the house of the Basilidæ. His first-born, Crœsus, the issue of his union with his Carian wife, he sent as governor to Mysia as soon as he had grown to manhood; and another son, Adramytes, was the founder of the city of Adramyteum, the establishment of which clearly shows the desire of the Lydians to found mercantile settlements of their own at suitable places, in spite of the Ionians. Thus, after the above-mentioned eclipse, Alyattes continued to rule over his land for about five and twenty years; at the end of

His death.

which he was laid to rest among his ancestors in the low country by the Gygæan lake, opposite Sardes. As a proof of the degree to which the old king, the real founder of the power of Lydia and of her position in the world, had during his long government, in good and bad fortune, identified himself with his people, his sepulchral mound was, by the unwearying activity of the Sardians, raised higher and higher by accumulated

pebbles from the bed of the Hermus, till at last the mound of the Hero-king rose high above those of all the other princes. CHAP. V.

Crœsus, King of Lydia;

At the same period in which at Athens Pisistratus for the first time attained to sovereign power, Crœsus, then in the prime of manhood, ascended the throne of the Mermnadæ. Although even during his father's lifetime he had been already invested with royal power, yet the crown did not come to him without troubles and dangers. A powerful party was opposed to him, under the leadership of Pantaleon, the son of Alyattes by an Ionian woman, who was eager to oust the son of a Carian mother. It was the ancient quarrel which, notwithstanding the conciliatory rule of Alyattes, again and again broke forth. Crœsus overcame his adversaries, and punished all the participators in the attempt with the ruthless severity of an Oriental despot. But as soon as he had achieved his object, he hastened to remove the impression created by these events. In order to expiate what had happened, he expended the confiscated property of the rebels in the most magnificent gifts of honour to the chief places of Hellenic worship on either side of the sea. In Ephesus he aided in the restoration of the temple from the damages it had suffered at the hands of the Scythians: most of the columns of the temple, as well as the golden oxen there, were his gift. Meanwhile, to the two great sanctuaries of Apollo he sent offerings of gold, which he distributed in proportions so precise that in weight of metal and artistic work those transmitted to Delphi possessed exactly the same value as those which he proffered to the Didymæan Apollo. This anxious accuracy shows how he endeavoured to satisfy the claims of the Ionian oracle as well as of the other, and to annihilate in Ionia the memory of the blood spilt at the commencement of his reign. The Delphic Athene also was honoured with the gift of a shield of gold, and similar offerings were made to Apollo in Thebes, and to the sacred oracles of Trophonius and

his system of policy.

CHAP. V. Amphiaraus. Crœsus knew the power of gold among the Hellenes, and by this very gold, through which the Lydian Tantalidæ had obtained power among the Achæans, he also endeavoured to make himself a citizen of Hellas.

Nor was he unsuccessful in this attempt. The authorities at Delphi issued decrees which, in consideration of the descent of the Mermnadæ, unhesitatingly conferred all privileges upon the king, and particularly the right of Delphic citizenship. Henceforth Lydian men might be seen at the sacred games sitting in front in the places of honour.

Thus he gained over the Hellenes, to whom gold gave him the only means of access. A different attitude was that which he assumed towards the Asiatic towns. But even in this instance he acted with equal sagacity and energy, and for this very reason attained his end without long wars. This end was anything but destruction. On the contrary, the Ionian towns were to constitute the gems of his empire, and to form for him a naval power by means of which he would advance further to the west. Accordingly, he commenced his policy of reunion with Ephesus, which was the most important place for him, on account of its central position towards all the rest of Asia Minor. Nowhere, apparently, had so much been already done to aid his designs. He stood in many relations of personal intimacy with the Ephesians. His financial transactions and his transmission of valuables were managed for him by Ephesian merchant-houses, amongst whom the rich banker Pamphaes had made particularly large profits in his service. He had contributed to the full extent of his power to the splendour of the Artemisium. Lastly, his sister's son, Pindarus, who had inherited the dignity of his father Melas, was the most influential personage inthe city.

And yet he deceived himself in calculating on a peaceable submission. He had to commence a siege and to order a storm against the walls. One tower

had fallen, the breach was opened, and all resistance in vain. It was then that the thought occurred to Pindarus of testing the king's reverence for Hellenic religion. He caused the turrets of the city walls to be connected by means of a long rope with the temple on the Cayster; thus, the whole city became dedicated and consecrated to the great goddess. By this device the king was disarmed, and the most favourable conditions of surrender were obtained. The capitulation of Ephesus was a decisive and guiding event for all Ionia. Crœsus claimed nothing beyond a recognition of his supreme sovereignty, and, in token of it, a moderate tribute. On the other hand, he left to the citizens the administration of their internal affairs; the towns became as it were free imperial cities* of the Lydian empire, and thus obtained various new advantages, so that in return they easily acquiesced in renouncing the honour of perfect independence. All opposition on the part of the priests had been previously removed by a wise liberality. CHAP. V.

The empire of Crœsus.

Thus easily and rapidly was accomplished one of the most momentous changes in the Greek world. One town after another fell into the power of the king, and soon the whole body of towns had been peaceably incorporated with an Oriental empire. The burdensome stoppages between the coast and interior were removed, and a free interchange took place of the treasures of the east and west. All the ports were open to Crœsus, and all the maritime population at his disposal; all the industry and sagacity, all the art and science which had been developed on this coast, were ready to serve him in return for his money.

But no royal conqueror was ever able to content himself with this coast. It was no secret that the cities on the islands also, especially Chios and Samos, were objects of his desire. Meanwhile he hesitated to advance the execution of his designs of conquest; a well-founded doubt kept him from attempting the

* [*Freie Reichsstädte* in the original.—Tr.]

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sea, since the Lydian power was, after all, even now essentially a land-power. Instead of thus advancing the limits of his empire, he brought order into it, and filled his treasury, which now received, in addition to the products of the mines and gold-washings, the payments of so many tributaries. Above all he provided for his city of Sardes, and assembled Greek artists around him in constantly increasing numbers. The arts discovered by the Greeks in Greek countries, especially the working of metals, were practised in Sardian workshops for the accomplishment of royal tasks. All who had acquired celebrity among the Hellenes were invited to his hospitable court; he wished to be the most fortunate of kings in their eyes, and to be celebrated by them on their return as the most liberal patron of the arts, in order that all the world might fix its attention upon him.

And in truth Crœsus was a fortunate prince, though not according to the ethical standard of Solon. By his resolution and sagacity he had realised the objects of the policy of the Mermnadæ, which had been pursued with rare consistency through five generations of their house. His empire, acknowledged as one of the great powers of Asia, had been the first among the latter to obtain possession of the sea-coast, and to overcome the opposition between the Hellenes and Barbarians. Besides being a land-power of the interior, feared in all Asia, and based on a well-defined and richly-endowed system of landed property, on sturdy popular forces and an efficient army, it included the splendid succession of flourishing sea-ports; and the Pactolus unceasingly rolled his golden sands before the portals of the royal citadel of Sardes. A peninsular empire had been founded, such as had never existed before; and in proportion as the Lydian and Hellenic elements continued to blend, even greater results might be achieved. Above all, there were wanting the districts of the south coast; the Lycian nation, and Cilicia, which was neces-

sary for dominion in the sea of Cyprus, yet remained unconquered. The passes of the Taurus had to be crossed, and even the Halys seemed too narrow a boundary of his empire for Crœsus the Fortunate. CHAP. V.

But the good fortune of the Sardian kings was to rise no higher. In the first instance the domestic happiness of Crœsus broke down, and then, while he was still uttering his lament for the death of the one among his sons who had enjoyed full health, he was aroused from his melancholy by the messengers who brought disturbing tidings of the revolution which had taken place in the affairs of Anterior Asia.

The Persian nation.

Among the nations which the dynasty of Ecbatana combined into a vast state of vassals, that of the Persians had risen into prominence, one of the noblest branches of the Aryan family, and of all the Iranians most capable of culture. In the well-watered districts of their mountains the Persians, removed from any contagion of Oriental luxury, had preserved their health and vigour in simple conditions of life, as herdsmen, hunters, and husbandmen. They were divided into districts and tribes, each man amongst them being the equal of the rest, under the leadership of chieftains whom every one of the people approached reverentially, but in a spirit of freedom. Love of truth and a courageous spirit were the virtues of the Persians; a conscientious observance of the law according to the ordinances of their fathers kept their communities together. The judges of the nation were elected for life, and irremoveable; they were a power in the land opposed to every attempt of an arbitrary character. The worship of idols they accounted a folly and an abomination. Like the Pelasgians, they offered up their sacrifices to the God of heaven on the loftiest summits of their country; besides him they venerated the stars and elements. No Persian might in his prayers make mention of himself; he prayed only for

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the nation and the king. Their common feeling of nationality had during the rule of the Medes grown strong in opposition to their rulers, and they had attained to unity by the subordination of the pastoral tribes to the husbandmen, amongst whom the noblest and most highly gifted tribe, that of the Pasargadæ, obtained a royal authority over the entire nation. In proportion as this nation came to understand its own strength, the Medes were sinking into effeminate luxuriousness. With the death of Cyaxares the power of tension belonging to the empire had begun to relax; it seemed intolerable that the strong should pay tribute to the weakly. The refusal of taxes led to hostile meetings, and these again to open revolt. Not satisfied with having achieved their own liberty, the Persian people advanced against Ecbatana. The dynasty, which was befriended with the Lydians, was overthrown, and there was an end of the treaties which guaranteed a balance of power between the empires of Anterior Asia. The Lydo-Greek world trembled, when Cyrus, the Achæmenide of the tribe of the Pasargadæ, with the conscious power of a victor, established his government in Iran. His proceedings soon showed that he designed to claim for himself the entire inheritance of imperial power in Anterior Asia, and would not recognise the boundary of the Halys. The Ionian vessels bore into the most distant colonies the tidings of the new conqueror of nations who had arisen in the East, and Crœsus had to decide whether he would wait for or anticipate his approach.

Advance of the Persians upon Ecbatana.

Cyrus subjects Media and threatens Lydia.

In either case he needed allies; and as the danger threatening him caused him to turn his eyes from the east to the west, from the barbarians to the Hellenes, the gold at Delphi was now to bring its interest. The Delphic priesthood bade him apply to Sparta, which at that time, after her victories over Argos and Arcadia, had gained a position of power, causing her to be regarded as the federal capital of the small

Crœsus in quest of allies at Sparta,

Greek states beyond the island-sea, while Athens had sunk back out of the order established by Solon into chaotic feuds. In Sparta there was no lack of men who pursued a wide and national system of policy; and with a proud consciousness of the position it had achieved, the Dorian citizen-state looked forward to a yet more glorious future. The authority of the oracle contributed its influence, and Sparta and her allies resolved not to refuse federal aid to the Lydian king, towards whom many an obligation had been incurred, and who was an honorary citizen of Delphi. But at the same time Crœsus also applied to the states of the east, in which he might presume the existence of an interest identical with his own in opposing, while it was yet time, the increasing growth of the Persian power,—*i. e.*, to Egypt and to Babylon. CHAP. V.

in Egypt,

In Egypt, after the house of Psammetichus had ruled for a century, a new revolution had placed Amasis on the throne; an adventurer who, like the Mermnadæ, came from the coast-land peopled by Greek tribes. Like them, he had attained to dominion by the aid of Greek troops. His policy also took the direction from the interior to the sea; he desired to be master of Cyrene, as the Mermnadæ longed for Ionia; and, like them, paid a selfish homage to the Greek gods,—like them, in every way encouraged Greek commerce, and made Naucratis a Greek free port. Thus Egypt and Lydia were at that time two states in exactly the same position; and as the dangers sooner or later threatening them were equally identical, they necessarily had to consider combined measures for averting them.

and at Babylon.

On the other hand, Crœsus had applied to the Babylonian dynasty, with which his father had already entered into treaties of amity. This state also had been impelled by its dangerous position between powerful and jealous neighbours to strengthen itself by means of Greek mercenaries. When Nebucadnezar, immediately after the fall of Ninive, was engaged in

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war with Egypt and Syria, one of the soldiers in his service was Antimenidas, Alcæus the poet's brother, whom party conflicts had driven from Mitylene. Nebucadnezar had died in the year 561. With his successor, who was called Labynetus II. by the Greeks, a prince who had also by means of a revolution, and probably like Psammetichus, Gyges, and Amasis, also by means of mercenary troops, raised himself to the throne (in 555), Crœsus concluded a treaty of alliance. It was an offensive and defensive alliance of three kings against the power of Cyrus, which was equally dangerous to all. But before the fair promise of these combinations, which reached from the Euphrates as far as the Nile and the Eurotas, produced actual results in favour of Crœsus, the menacing tempest-cloud of war burst over his head.

Triple alliance against Cyrus.

Advance of Cyrus.

Events followed one another in quick succession, and Crœsus was not equal to his times. Irresolutely he wavered between opposite decisions. At first he thought himself bound to advance. Confiding in his own good fortune, and that of his ancestors, he entered Cappadocia without waiting for aid from any of his allies. He was anxious to prevent the power of Cyrus from establishing itself there, and even hoped to be able to extend his own empire. Above all he had designs on Pteria, the fastness in the valley of the Halys, where the latter opens towards Sinope and forms the inlet into Northern Cappadocia. He devastates the country, and expels the inhabitants, probably with the intention of protecting his land by interposing a broad tract of desolate country. Cyrus, now in the advantageous position of being able to appear as saviour and protector of the helpless population in the frontier provinces, was by no means eager for battle. He is even said to have met the Lydian king with pacific proposals, and to have demanded nothing but the recognition of his supreme sovereignty. The menacing position of the Babylonians required caution. However, the battle took place, and, like

the Medes of old, the Persians had to acknowledge the courage and efficiency of the Lydian army. It was a drawn battle.

Notwithstanding this result, Crœsus threw up the whole campaign. He returned to Sardes, and thought to be doing what was necessary in summoning thither for the next campaign all the troops of his own country as well as the contingents of his allies. But Cyrus had no intention of allowing his adversary a truce from which the latter might issue forth with double strength. After a short pause the Persians once more advanced in order to penetrate into the heart of the Lydian empire with a large military force. Caution was necessary; for it was precisely in the wide plain of the Hermus, devoid of trees, that the Lydians had ample opportunity for developing their whole strength. Accordingly, by the advice of Harpagus, Cyrus placed all the camel-riders who had followed him out of Interior Asia in the front line of battle, opposite the Lydian cavalry. The device was perfectly successful. The horses shied at the unwonted aspect and odour of the strange beasts; the army's power of attack was crippled, and the battle utterly lost. Crœsus was besieged in his citadel, and the messengers, who were to call in the auxiliary forces for the coming spring, were closely followed by other and swifter messengers, who were to press for immediate aid for the rescue of the king. It was all too late. Cyrus omitted no means of raising the ardour of the besiegers, who were at last able to scale the walls on the side where the Sardian citadel was connected with the Tmolus.

Overthrow of Crœsus and the dynasty of the Mermnadæ. Ol. lviii. (B.C. 548.)

The existence of the empire of the Mermnadæ depended on its dynasty; like all Oriental empires, it fell by *one* blow, and this all the more suddenly, inasmuch as the dynasty had from the first in its own land based its power on military force. The king was a prisoner, the army dissolved, the existence of Lydia was at an end. No longer his own master, Crœsus did homage to the conqueror for whose cause the gods had

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decided. He was treated with generosity, and retained an honourable position near the person of Cyrus, who contrived to employ the dethroned prince as an adviser, on account of his knowledge of the affairs of Asia Minor and his relations to the peoples of the west. As soon as he joined the suite of the Persian conqueror, he vanished out of the eyes of the Greeks, but not out of their memory. For they never grew weary of relating his story as the most remarkable succession of changeful events, and investing it with all the charm of Ionic powers of narrative. The story, however, was not left to popular tradition, but under the influence of the priesthood treated from fixed points of view. Accordingly, on the one hand the piety and liberality of the king is insisted upon, by which he acquired the special protection of the Delphic god; but on the other again his personal arrogance and overweening estimate of his earthly wealth, by which he obscures the clearness of his judgment and brings upon himself the precipitous change in his fortunes. Moreover, there rests on his race from the days of Gyges, who gained the throne by the deed of an assassin, a curse which—according to the laws of eternal justice, which even Apollo is unable to stay—must find its accomplishment. By pointing to this curse, the priestly narrative meets the reproach which might be raised against the Pythian Apollo—that the god had so ill-protected his faithful servant, all whose piety stood him in no stead. For even the fall of the great king was to redound to the glorification of Apollo.

A tradition probably existed, according to which Crœsus, refusing to survive the end of his empire, was resolved to burn himself with his treasures. This self-sacrifice of falling princes frequently recurs in the myths, and possibly even in the actual history of the East. Of this tradition the priestly legend took possession, and converted the pyre into a scaffold, in order to ascribe to Cyrus, the foe of Hellenic religions, a cruelty which is too contradictory to the usages of

Persian religion to merit belief. A sudden rain, sent by Apollo, was then made to extinguish the flames of the pyre; and Herodotus, who most readily welcomed any version introducing a connexion with Athens, mixes up the name of Solon with the miraculous rescue of Crœsus. CHAP. V.

The fall of Sardes was an event of tremendous moment for the entire Greek world. The empire which had formed a connecting link with the East, but at the same time also a wall of defence against it, had impotently broken down, and over its ruins a thoroughly foreign and hostile power had advanced into the vicinity of the coast. Against the Mermnadæ the cities had had to guard their civic independence; but their language, manners, and religion were not in danger, for they were the same which prevailed at Sardes. Now, everything was at stake; for the tribes of Iran hated foreign manners of life, and by their religion were called to wage a national war against every kind of idolatry. In the same degree, then, that the Jews at Babylon looked with joyous expectation on Cyrus, as the protector of the worship of Jehovah, the Hellenes trembled for their cities and temples. *Consequences of the fall of Sardes for the Greeks.*

Their common fears united them more closely to one another. The Æolian and Ionian cities acted in common, though even now it was not all who joined the union: the islands hung back, as they saw themselves in no danger. But even Miletus took no part in the new federation. For as the Milesians had previously made common cause with the Mermnadæ, so they had now availed themselves of the first opportunity to conclude a separate treaty with the new possessor of power.

The national party had its centre in Phocæa, which was happily situated at the junction of the Æolian towns. Pythermus, a citizen of Phocæa, was by a common resolution of the new confederation chosen as deputy to represent the state of affairs to the Hellenic *Pythermus of Phocæa at Sparta.*

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states beyond the sea, and to claim efficient aid from them. He landed at Gytheum in goodly array, intended to signify the prosperous condition of the Greeks of Asia. In a robe of purple he appeared before the authorities at Sparta, and endeavoured, with all the eloquence at his command, to explain to them the community of interests on either side of the island-sea. But he found no willing listeners. The Spartans, who had before held men and ships in readiness for Crœsus, the conqueror of the cities, refused active help; and in order to respond, in outward appearance at least, to the honourable recognition of their hegemony, contented themselves with despatching an envoy to Asia, who sought out the Persian king in his camp in order to protest in the name of the Lacedæmonian state against any attack on the Greek cities.

Spartan embassy to Cyrus.

To Cyrus this impotent mission—it was the first public contact between Persia and the states of European Greece—necessarily appeared both strange and ridiculous. It merely increased his contempt for the Greek nation, whose boastfulness he despised. He judged the Greeks by the population of the Ionian towns, and could not look for any manly vigour from men who spent half their life in talk on the market-place. Meanwhile he had other things in his mind than the state of affairs on the coast of Asia Minor. With the fall of Sardes he held the conquest of Asia Minor to be complete; and while he himself with his main forces marched up in the direction of Ecbatana, he left Tabalus as governor of the new province at Sardes with a Persian garrison. Pactyes, a native Lydian, he commissioned with the administration of the taxes and the superintendence of the moneys which were henceforth to flow along the royal road from Sardes to Susa.

Cyrus deceived himself, in deeming his measures to have permanently settled the affairs of Asia Minor. He left everything in a state of ferment behind him. The agitation was particularly great among the population of the coast, which was suspended between fears

and hopes. The ancient dominion was destroyed, and the new not yet established. The voluntary homage which the cities had offered under certain conditions had been angrily spurned by Cyrus, because he could not pardon their having all, with the exception of Miletus, rejected his proposals previously to the fall of Sardes. As soon as his hands were free for action, the worst might be expected. As yet no soldier of Cyrus had made his appearance in the coast countries; as yet they were free, and under neither Lydian nor Persian rule. The more hastily Cyrus took his whole armed force out of the peninsula in order to wage wars on the remotest confines of his empire, the stronger was the necessity to employ this term of complete freedom of action, and with united strength to achieve a new independence.

Revolt of Pactyes.

Of this state of feeling Pactyes, whose fidelity had been exposed to too trying a test by the moneys confided to his care, availed himself. He employed these moneys to assemble rapidly a considerable army, to march from the coast to Sardes, and there besiege Tabalus. But he was not the man energetically to carry out a bold and difficult enterprise. Scarcely had he heard of the approach of the army of Mazares, which Cyrus had detached from the main body of his forces for the relief of Tabalus, when his courage sank: he allowed his army to disperse, and himself fled to Cyme.

The only result of the whole revolt was that the fatal event now approached with increased rapidity, and that the wrath of the Persians was intensified when for the first time they drew near to the border of the Greek coast. Their first object was the punishment of the traitor, and to his person referred the first negotiations between the Persian army and the Greek cities. The Cymæans, who dared neither to give up nor to protect Pactyes, transported him to Lesbos. But even on the islands there was no security for him. As the Mitylenæans displayed an inclination

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to surrender the fugitive for Persian gold, the Cymæans took him to Chios. The Chians thought this the best opportunity for having the coast district on the mainland opposite, the possession of which they had long desired, secured to them. This demand the Persians were rejoiced to grant, as they thus brought this important island under their influence, and Pactyes was given up to the vengeance of his foes, being dragged out of the sanctuary of Athene, the goddess of the citadel. Thus were the most sacred duties unconscientiously sacrificed to base selfish purposes, not by single individuals, but publicly by a whole state; while the priesthood alone, indignant at the violation of the sacred peace of the temple, for their part laid a solemn curse on the territory purchased at such a price of blood. Such was the occasion on which the Persians first became acquainted with the Ionian maritime peoples. How, then, could they conceive any feelings with regard to them other than those of a deep contempt?

After Mazares had consummated his first object, the punishment of the head rebel, he turned to the participators of the rebellion. One focus of the latter had been Priene, the native city of the noble Bias, and the guardian of the Panionic sanctuary. As a terrible example, the citizens of Priene were dragged away into slavery. The march of the Persians then pursued its desolating course down into the valley of the Mæander, and Magnesia, which had scarcely risen out of its ruins, was for a second time destroyed. At this time the leader of the expedition of vengeance suddenly died, and Harpagus received the supreme command of the war on the coasts. By choosing this personage, who stood in relations of so close an intimacy to himself, Cyrus showed what importance he attached to the Ionian campaign.

Mazares succeeded by Harpagus in the command of the Persian army.

And, in point of fact, the Ionians now proved to the king that they were something better than idle chatterers of the market-place, and that they were not all

ready, like the Chians, to sell what was most sacred to them. They who had shown so little capacity for saving their cause by community of action, now that all hope of success had vanished, gave evidence of a heroic spirit worthy of better days. Harpagus was forced to besiege town after town; at every new place a fresh war awaited him, although the Ionians had soon discovered that it was a different soldiery from that of the Lydians against which they had now to fight. For while the latter had carried on their contests chiefly by means of cavalry, Harpagus commanded every variety of troops, all in a high state of military efficiency, including in particular large numbers of terrible bowmen, and, further, all the means for carrying on a regular siege, machines, as well as workmen for laying trenches. He blockaded the towns both by land and by sea, contrived to overthrow the walls by subterraneous passages, and by this means to overcome one town after another. Finally, by these enemies no Hellenic law was respected, no sanctuary venerated, as they had been by the Lydians. In this struggle two cities pre-eminently proved their heroism in genuine Ionic fashion by contriving, after a fruitless resistance on land, to find liberty on the sea, and to sail to shores on which they founded a new fatherland.

Emigration from Ionia.

It is easy to understand how, in proportion as a deeper and deeper gloom settled upon Asia Minor, the coast population emigrated in increasing numbers. These consisted, in the first instance, of men whose means of supporting life entirely depended on peace, particularly artists and handicraftsmen, who under the rule of Crœsus had attained to an easy prosperity. Thus Bathycles, with his fellow-artists at that time, wandered from Sardes to Sparta. The emigration increased, and reached Italy and Gaul, and more particularly the Black Sea, on the shores of which the daughter-cities grew up, while the mother-country was sinking to her end; similarly as in modern times the destruction of Psara and Chios gave rise to new places of trade, such

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as Syra, in the Archipelago. For at all times the Greeks have well known how to make a way for themselves even out of the worst of troubles, to gain another home in place of the lost, and in it to establish a new prosperity with wondrous vital energy. In ancient times the migrations of fugitives particularly took the direction of the colonies, as was already the case with the Phœnicians. Thus the Tyrians are bidden by the prophet Isaiah to emigrate, and the greatness of Carthage is mainly due to the emigration of numerous families out of the mother-city in a season of troubles. Thus it was now that colonies such as Panticapæum for the first time became populous cities. The best men emigrated after doing their duty at home; it was the cowards who clave to their clod of earth. The places in which the civic body as a whole showed the sternest determination never at any price to bow down

Teos.

before the stranger's yoke were Teos and Phocæa. The Teans, whose chief families derived their descent from Minyan heroes, chose the Thracian coast, which, on account of its savage tribes, had offered the most protracted resistance to Hellenic culture. About a century previously a settlement attempted by Clazomenians had been completely destroyed by the mountain tribes. Notwithstanding this, they chose the same point, near the mouth of the Nestus, opposite the island of Thasus, a point where the Phœnicians seem already to have built. The foundation was successful. In Abdera arose a new Teos, and the city which not only brought forth but also knew how to honour Democritus proves that the lofty spirit animating the Teans was not extinguished in their colony.

Phocæa.

The Phocæans had greater difficulty in finding a new home. They had so successfully defended against Harpagus their massive walls, which they had built in all possible strength with the money of their royal guest and friend Arganthonius, that the Persian at last declared himself ready to raise the siege, if, in token of their submission, they would pull down one bastion,

and dedicate a space in their city to the Achæmenide king, who thus for the first time, contrary to ancient Persian usage, claimed divine adoration. Even this demand the Phocæans refused, but they employed the term which they had demanded for consideration in putting all their ships to sea; and while the hostile troops had, according to the agreement, retired from the walls, they went on board with their women and children, with their sacred and other moveable possessions, and left behind an empty city for the Persians. CHAP. V.

They would have preferred to remain in their native waters, but mercantile jealousy caused the Chians to refuse at any price to allow them to settle on the Œnussæ or Wine Islands. Accordingly, hard as it might be, they had to resolve upon a more distant voyage with their great and heavily-laden fleet. Once more they sailed to their deserted native city, fell upon the Persian garrison, sank a large mass of iron at the entrance of the harbour, uttered a curse against all who had remained behind and refused to join in the common voyage, and then passed out of the Archipelago into the distant western sea, where they joined the earlier settlements of their fellow-citizens near Alalia, on Corsica. For in Tartessus, whither they had previously been invited, their friend Arganthonius had meanwhile died, and after his death affairs had taken a direction unfavourable to them. Once more a hard fate awaited them. Before they had fully established their settlements on lands of their own they had to support life by means of expeditions in search of booty. These expeditions involved them in quarrels with the maritime and mercantile states of the western sea, who would not allow a new rise of piracy to take place here. The Tyrrhenians and Carthaginians united in order to protect their merchantmen against the new pirates. Against their united fleets the Phocæans fought with the courage of despair. They were not defeated, but they lost so many ships and men that

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they could not maintain themselves on Corsica. They sailed to Rhegium, and the remnant of the homeless people at last attained to a fixed settlement in Lucania at Hyele. Here their lot was a tranquil one, and in this town on the distant confines of the Greek world the Eleatic philosophy, a school of deep thinkers, developed itself among them.

Harpagus endeavoured to the best of his power to put an end to the difficult campaign. Nor was the capture of the towns followed by any measures of force—by any destruction, any sentence of deportation or slavery against the inhabitants, or any overthrow of their municipal systems. The Persians had so deep-seated a contempt for all Greek constitutions that they naturally looked upon the citizens of the Ionian towns as dangerous in inverse proportion to the frequency of their civic assemblages and speeches. Thus, they even permitted the Federal Diet at Mycale to continue its existence.

The Federal Diet of the Ionians at Mycale.

At this diet motions were even once more made and debates took place which, considering the general agitation prevailing, might easily have led to events of importance. The boldest and most sagacious patriots once more raised their voice; among them, Bias of Priene. He recurred to the ideas of Thales, and again directed attention to the fundamental evil—the numberless divisions in Ionian political life. He reminded his hearers how already the second war had with sufficient clearness displayed all the evil consequences of these divisions. Had the heroism which exhausted itself in fruitless single contests been united at the proper place, the present prospects of the Ionian towns would now be far different. "At the present moment," he said, "a common settlement of the Ionians in Ionia is "no longer possible. The best of the towns no longer "exist; the most powerful of all deserted us before "the commencement of the struggle; the very soil on "which we live is no longer our own; and the few "opportunities of free motion yet left to us we have to

Bias of Priene.

"receive as a favour at the hands of barbarians. Be
"ye then not deceived because an endurable existence
"is now granted to you, and because trade and navi-
"gation pursue their uninterrupted course. You are
"no longer your own masters. As soon as it is the
"good pleasure of the Great-King he will claim your
"resources, your property, and your ships, and force
"you to follow his army against the more distant
"members of your race, against men adoring your
"gods, who are hateful to him. So insecure are the
"foundations on which rests that prosperity of yours,
"with which you seek to console yourselves for the
"loss of your liberty. Yet time remains to found a
"common city, although no longer, as Thales wished,
"on native soil. But wherever free Ionians dwell,
"there is Ionia; our ships enable us to gain new
"habitations which the barbarians cannot attack.
"Our brethren in Phocæa have shown us the way; in
"the Sardian sea lies the large and fertile island to
"which already Iolaus led men of our race. With our
"united strength we shall be able to make head
"against the fleets of the Tyrrhenians and Car-
"thaginians, who claim the dominion over those
"waters. To-day the choice is still left you, whether
"you will let our common country perish or gain new
"honour and lasting glory for the Ionian name."

The words of Bias found many a ready hearer, but they failed to rouse the great mass of Ionian citizens out of their life of ease, and to inspire them with sufficient confidence for the adoption of such extraordinary resolutions. The artful policy of the Persians contributed to prevent the execution of further plans of emigration. They were content with having broken the spirit of resistance; the taxes to the king were paid, and the military and naval service performed. The Persian name was so greatly feared, that even the islands voluntarily did homage, among them especially Chios and Lesbos. The power of resistance in both these islands had been exhausted

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in internal feuds, and both were obliged to submit, if on no other account, on that of their possessions on the mainland, which they were unwilling to renounce.

Campaigns of Harpagus.

Meanwhile Harpagus united with his army the contingents of the Ionian and Æolian towns, which joined his march all the more readily inasmuch as it was directed against the Carians. In Caria no resistance of importance was offered, either by the older inhabitants who had been pushed back into the interior, nor even by the Hellenic towns on the coast. Only in Cnidus a certain heroism showed itself. While Harpagus was still engaged with the Ionian towns, the Cnidians hastened to dig through the narrowest part of their tongue of land, in order afterwards to fortify the trench and thus render a close blockade of their peninsular city impossible. Meanwhile the work refused to progress: all kinds of fatalities hindered its laborious course: these were regarded as warning signs sent by the gods, and in the end it was resolved to submit to the inevitable, particularly as after the subjection of the Ionian towns the Persians had now also acquired the means of making the attack, if necessary, from the sea.

But a task of greater difficulty awaited Harpagus, when he advanced from the coast into the interior. Here, where nature has given natural means of defence to the inhabitants, he had to undergo a hard struggle with the Pedasians who had shut themselves up in their mountain-fastness of Lida. When he subsequently passed across into the districts of the Taurus, he was met by a resolute resistance on the part of the Lycians and their kinsmen, the Caunians, who were as unwilling to sacrifice their freedom to the Persians as to the Lydians. The Xanthians preceded all the rest in giving proofs of heroic courage; the valiant army of citizens fearlessly marched out to meet the superior forces of Harpagus in the valley of the Xanthus. Those who saved themselves out of the battle, retreated into the rocky castle of Xanthus,

Sack of Xanthus.

and when even here any further resistance had become impossible, the citizens sought an honourable death, fighting to the last man amidst the ruins of their temples and dwellings. Eighty families, who were absent from home, were alone preserved, and subsequently returned to the ruined heaps of their ancestral castle. It was here that the Persians were first made acquainted with the heroism of Hellenic mountain-tribes, which may be defeated, but cannot be overcome. It was the prelude to the drama of Thermopylæ. CHAP. V.

Thus, then, these campaigns of Harpagus had accomplished an essential change in the constitution of half the Greek world; the Hellenes on the two sides of the sea had been sundered from one another, and the most flourishing group of Hellenic cities had been incorporated in a barbarian empire of overbearing power, and deprived of the liberty of moving by themselves. All the acts of the Mermnadæ had merely been an introduction and preparation for these great events, in consequence of which, for the first time, the opposition between the interior and coast-lands of Asia had been overcome, while the royal power, rooted in the highlands of Persia, had advanced to the border of the Archipelago, the islands of which were already trembling, and hastening to send messages of homage to Susa.

Egypt. At the same time another power belonging to the interior of the East had broken through the boundaries separating it from the Mediterranean, and was from the south menacing the independence of the Hellenic states. Egypt, under the house of Psammetichus, differed as greatly from the ancient empire of the Pharaohs as did the present Lydia from the state of the Sandonidæ; and the violence of the rupture with ancient times which took place in these regions accorded with the strangeness attaching to the genuinely Egyptian element in the eyes of the Greeks. At first the relations between the new dynasty and the Greeks were

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King Amasis. (569-526 B.C.)

This expedition not only failed, but also occasioned a revolt of the mercenaries, by which an end was put to the rule of the house of Psammetichus after an existence of a century. In this case, however, there is no question of a national Egyptian revolt. It was a mere adventurer, belonging to the mixed race of the mercenaries, who had previously led the life of a vagabond, who now, under the name of Amasis, ascended the throne of the Pharaohs, and carried out the Hellenistic tendency of the Psammetichidæ in a yet more decided manner. His wife was a woman of Cyrene, his boon-companions were Greeks, and his honoured guests Hellenic princes. Like Crœsus, he paid homage to the Greek gods, particularly to Athene, and flattered the powerful priestly colleges by gifts. Finally, he knew how to revive with superior skill and success the plans of conquest pursued by the house of Psammetichus.

Egypt had become a border-state of the Mediterranean; it was now also to have its share in the command of these waters. For this purpose, however, Amasis, far from pursuing the doubtful path of Syrian campaigns, rather intended the Egyptian fleets to obtain maritime dominion from the basis of the mouths of the Nile. But in the Delta were to be found neither the timber nor the metals requisite for the establishment

of a naval power of importance, and more favourably situated naval stations and better naval harbours were necessary than those offered by the Nile. Amasis perceived that for his designs the possession of Cyprus was indispensably required. Here the Phœnician power also, as far as it had survived the Babylonian expedition, could be most effectively assailed.

Cyprus becomes Egyptian.

The connexion between Cyprus and Phœnicia is as ancient as the sea-trade between Byblus and Sidon. The yoke of the Phœnician cities occasionally weighed heavily enough on the islanders, and the royal figure at Citium, covered with an inscription in cuneiform characters, is a testimony of the fact that in the seventh century kings of Ninive were welcomed by the Cyprians as their liberators from the Phœnician yoke. Meanwhile, we must not at the same time imagine to ourselves an equal and complete liberation of the island. Phœnicia appropriated the treasures of its forests and mines, used its harbours, pressed sailors, and levied tribute; but the Greek element was not suppressed, and particularly the Greek towns of the north side maintained themselves on the Cilician sea.

Apries had already overcome the Phœnico-Cyprian fleet. Amasis went a step further. He sent considerable numbers of troops thither, and subdued the whole island. Greeks from Cyprus went to Egypt, and Egyptians were settled in Cyprus. Like the Mermnadæ before him, Amasis used his utmost endeavours to cause himself to be regarded as a Greek. The position of the Milesian Apollo in Ionia was on Cyprus occupied by the Aphrodite of Paphos, to whom Amasis offered the tribute of splendid dedicatory gifts; and while subjecting one Greek city after another to the payment of tribute, he caused himself to be acknowledged as the friend of the Hellenes at Delphi. From Cyprus, Amasis turned his eyes to the Syrian coast, when Cambyses ascended the throne of Cyrus.

As soon as the new monarch had resolved upon war against Egypt, he sent secret messengers to the cities

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of the Phœnicians and Cyprians, just as Cyrus had formerly, before the Lydian war, offered an alliance in arms to the Ionians. This time the Persian envoys met with readier listeners, and by voluntarily entering into the alliance the cities, which after all preferred the more distant to the nearer ruler, received the most favourable conditions. The Persian power on its part derived from these new allies an extraordinary increase of strength; fleets, harbours, sailors, and docks were at its service, and Egypt was already blockaded by sea and half-crippled before the attack itself took place.

The Greek mercenaries.

Thus the number of the free Greek states continued to dwindle in face of the inroad made by the states of the East upon the domain of the Mediterranean. Yet the activity of the national spirit of the Greeks was not on that account hindered or limited; but rather by means of it the connexion into which it entered with these states found a totally new and far wider theatre of action. Asiatic rulers, such as Asarrhaddon of Assyria and Nebucadnezar of Babylon, carried on their wars with the aid of Greek mercenaries, and, as in the case of the Lydian empire, all the power possessed by Egypt in its present state was due to Greek influence. Armies of Greek mercenaries were the main supports of the Psammetichidæ, and the guards of their throne. Their Carians and Ionians had enabled them successfully to overcome the revolutions of the national warrior-caste, and to carry out those brilliant enterprises which, as a self-made house, they needed for the support of their dynasty. It was thus that they were able to revive the plans of the great Ramessidæ, to dig the canal intended to combine the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, and to make war upon Syria. And when under the government of Amasis war broke out between Persia and Egypt, the whole guidance and decision of the war depended on Greeks.

War between Egypt and Persia.

Cambyses possessed the means of a successful invasion principally in the auxiliary troops and ships of the Æolians, Ionians, and Cyprians. All the hopes of

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Amasis rested on a skilful captain from Halicarnassus, named Phanes, or, according to his Egyptian appellation, Combaphes. The misfortune of the king consisted in his offending this man, who, conscious of the absolute need of him, raised immoderate claims. Phanes secretly deserted the royal service. Amasis had him pursued by a fast-sailing vessel; he was seized in Lycia, but escaped again by a trick. He then, in order to avenge himself upon the sovereign whom he had previously served, placed himself at the disposal of Cambyses, and, being received with unconditional confidence, superintended all the preparations for war. It was he in particular who contrived to establish the necessary understanding with the tribes of Arabia who at certain places in the desert furnished supplies of water; for it would have been impossible otherwise to conduct the large armament without danger as far as the frontiers of the land of the Delta. The victory near Pelusium and the conquest of Egypt were essentially the work of Phanes.

Phanes.

Battle of Pelusium, and Persian conquest of Egypt.

Ol. lxiii. 4. (B.C. 525.)

Among the Greeks who came to the assistance of King Cambyses on his Egyptian expedition was also a Samian squadron. The circumstances which led to this alliance were of a peculiar nature. Samos, it must be remembered, had not submitted like Lesbos and Chios; Samos was the centre of an independent dominion, which at that time included a multitude of Greek island-towns. This power, like Miletus before, voluntarily offered its aid to the Persian king, although its head was closely befriended with Egypt. It was his interest to enter as soon as possible into advantageous relations of alliance with the Persians; and moreover, the Samian prince wished to avail himself of this opportunity to rid himself of a number of men whose presence seemed to him to endanger his dominion. For it was a despotic government established by the overthrow of the previous constitution, by means of which the whole state was in the hands of Polycrates.

Samos;

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her natural position in Ionia.

Samos was at that time the brilliant centre of all Ionia, as far as the latter was yet untouched by the barbarians. For such a position she was pre-eminently fitted; for nowhere had the national life of the Ionians attained to so many-sided and energetic a development as on this particular island. Agriculture and mines, pasture and the cultivation of the vine, trade and manufactures, constituted the basis of the prosperity of Samos. An unwearying impulse for inventions was implanted in these islanders, and at the same time a manly and adventurous spirit of discovery, stimulated by the dangers of unknown seas. On the docks of Samos the plan of the Greek sea-going ship was in all essentials perfected; here it was best understood how to combine ample room for goods with speed of motion, and Samos was the first city which introduced the building of triremes at Corinth. We find Samos involved in all the wars of the coast states. The Samian sailors were among the earliest Greek navigators familiar with the Egyptian seas, and none denied to their countryman Colæus the honour of having discovered the distant western shores of the Mediterranean and brought into the harbours of Ionia the first tidings of the treasures of Spain.

Here, the protecting goddess of the island, whose world-famed sanctuary lay in the low country by the sea, to the west of the city, received the vows of the sailors on their departure, and their dedicatory gifts on their return. There existed no place in the Archipelago where a conjuncture of opportunities existed for so manifold a knowledge of countries and nations; and this knowledge was attested by numerous monuments. In the sanctuary stood as a permanent reminiscence of the first voyage to Tartessus the large bronze cauldron, supported by three Atlantes, which Colæus had dedicated out of the tithes of his trade-profits; and in addition to it was collected an abundance of similar offerings, in which might be recognised the various stadia of Samian navigation and of

native industrial art. The manufactories at Chios, Ephesus, and Samos maintained intimate relations with one another; and while in Ephesus the interrupted works in connexion with the Artemisium led to important improvements in architecture and the sister arts, in the schools of Samos and Chios the most important discoveries were made in the working of metals and sculpture (p. 71). Industrial activity had been encouraged in every way upon the island during the rule of the nobility which had followed the monarchy, just as was the case at Corinth under the Bacchiadæ. Yet there grew up among the sea-going population and the industrial classes a power hostile to the aristocracy, which only waited for an opportunity and for a leader in order to deprive the families of the governmental power. It was on the fleet itself that this opposition came to an outbreak. The fleet was returning victoriously from the Propontis with a number of Megarian prisoners. Their leader, Syloson, the son of Calliteles, succeeded in persuading the crews to overthrow the constitution. The Megarians were freed from their fetters, and at the festival of Here, when the Megarians were unsuspiciously assembled on the shore, a sudden attack was executed, during which the authorities of the state were assassinated, the families of the council deprived of their rights, and the victory of the people proclaimed.

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Democratic revolution at Samos.

Of course the people was not in this, more than in any other case, placed in possession of the power which had been promised to it; and the latter remained in the hands of the leading champions of the popular cause.

There dwelt in Samos a citizen-family, who had grown rich by foreign trade, particularly, as it would seem, by trade with Egypt, and who with selfish liberality employed their wealth to form for themselves a party. Of this family Syloson was himself a member. It was not however he, but another of the name, the son of Æaces, who, in common with his

Polycrates.

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two elder brothers Pantagnotus and Polycrates for a time ruled the island, which for the purpose was divided into three administrative districts. The second of the three, distinguished above the others by his ambition and talents, was not content with his third part. The elder brother was slain, and the younger had to flee for his life. Thus the sole government of the island fell into the hands of Polycrates (for such is at all events the name borne by him as Tyrant).

the basis and system of his government;

Thus Polycrates, a character of innate vigour, had boldly seized upon a mighty heritage, and mounted with reckless violence to a giddy height. A dense population, composed of a variety of elements and always in a state of fermentation, had been rather surprised than conquered; on the islands and coasts in the vicinity envious neighbours, of whom the most powerful had already united their cause to that of the barbarians, watched the existence of a state which possessed only few and distant allies; while on the one side the power of the Persians irresistibly advanced upon the island, and on the other stood Sparta, the mighty rear-guard of every opposition against Tyrants. Under such circumstances there was nothing left for Polycrates but to found his government on the basis of absolute force. He could not, like Pisistratus, count on the support of a part of the population which regarded him as the champion of its own interests; his power rested on money and the soldiery.

A guard of a thousand foreign bowmen surrounded his person, and garrisoned his citadel at Astypalæa. He procured armed aid from his allies, particularly from Lygdamis, Tyrant of Naxos. All the docks were busy, till a fleet of a hundred penteconteres were ready to put out to sea; to man which he held levies in Ionia, in Caria, in Lycia, wherever the disturbed state of the countries furnished a supply of homeless adventurers. In an incredibly short space of time he had created a naval power commanding the whole of

the sea. Who was to resist him? The Persian power had not yet advanced beyond the coast, the federation of the Ionian cities was powerless; and the only cities in the vicinity which could dare to defy the overweening insolence of the Tyrant, Miletus and Lesbos, he utterly overcame and disarmed in victorious naval actions. After this his squadrons openly cruised about all parts of the Archipelago, and plundered all its coasts and their inhabitants, Hellenes and barbarians, friend and foe, alike. Even on his friends he thought he would be able to place a surer reliance, if he first plundered and then compensated, than if he entirely spared them. Thus, under Polycrates, Samos had become a perfectly organised piratical state; and no ship could quietly pursue its voyages without having first purchased a safe-conduct from Samos. It may easily be conceived what wealth of plunder and money must have been amassed on the island. This rendered it all the easier to answer or suppress any objections against the Tyrannical government, and strengthened more and more the rule of the sovereign, whom friends and foes equally feared, and for whom Lesbian prisoners of war had dug a deep foss round his palace at Astypalæa. CHAP. V.

his dependants and allies;

But Polycrates intended to be something more than a freebooter. After he had annihilated all attempts at resistance, and made his fleet the sole naval power in the Archipelago, he began to take steps for creating a new and lasting establishment. The defenceless places on the coast had to buy security by the regular payment of tribute; under his protection they united into a body, the interests and affairs of which came more and more to find their centre in Samos, which from a piratical state became the federal capital of an extensive and brilliant empire of coasts and islands. The gifts and tributes of so many cities, several of which were probably unfortunate enough to have to pay taxes to Susa and to Astypalæa at the same time, the variety of the products of the Cyclades and

CHAP. V. Sporades, the marbles of Paros, the gold ores of Siphnos, one and all found their way to Samos. Lesser Tyrants, such as Lygdamis of Naxos, were intimately allied with his power; and Pisistratus himself may probably be also regarded as an ally of the Samians. In the south they had close relations with the Egyptian empire, from which they above all derived great commercial advantages. Thus, as a matter of fact, the Archipelago now, through the good fortune, sagacity, and energy of this one man, after Asiatic Ionia had lost its independence, contained a new Greek Ionian power, a new island-Ionia, united and commanded by a strong navy.

However, if the naval power of Samos was to possess a national importance as against the barbarians, who were advancing nearer and nearer upon the Mediterranean, Polycrates could not allow himself to be regarded merely as a terrible military power; but also needed peaceable means in order to effect a reconciliation and union, and to establish his despotic sovereignty upon a more lasting basis. For this purpose he attached himself to the ancient national sanctuary on Delos, and performed a splendid act of homage to Apollo by consecrating to him the island of Rhenæa, opposite Delos, as the property of his temple, and, as a symbolical expression of an indissoluble union, connected it by chains with the island of Apollo. This of course involved a brilliant revival of the ancient Ionic collective festival. It was the religious inauguration of the new-Ionian island-empire, the establishment of an Apolline Amphictyony under the patronage of Samos; and if Polycrates on the one hand did not believe the Persian empire capable of becoming a power in the Archipelago, and, on the other, saw no Greek power existing able to oppose him, he might well hope to drive back the barbarians, and to continue to extend his Ionian maritime empire further and further over the eastern and western coasts of the Ægean.

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Although Delos became the common sanctuary of this empire, yet Samos was to remain its centre both in power and splendour,—to remain the metropolis of Ionia, and to continue to be more and more undeniably marked out as such. Polycrates was as well aware as the Kings of Lydia, and the Tyrants of other Hellenic cities, how powerful and irresistible a charm the splendour of wealth, the exhibition of costly works of art, and the execution of previously unequalled wonders, exercised on the Greek nation.

his court and dependants;

Accordingly, everything recognised as excellent and unusual in the regions far and near was to be united at Samos, in order to make the island worthy of its new rank. Polycrates thought nothing too distant, and no means of carriage too circumstantial or costly. Pointer-dogs from Epirus and Laconia, sheep of Milesian and Attic breed, goats from Naxos and Scyros, were transplanted in flocks to the pasture-land of the island. Gorgeous plants, which had previously only unfolded their splendour under the Lydian sun adorned the terraces of Samian gardens. But, above all, Samos was to be the centre of all the intellectual efforts by which the Hellenes were distinguished from the other nations of the earth. Accordingly, no money was spared to attract the leading artists to Samos, and here, by inducements of every kind, to encourage manufacturing industry to the widest possible extent. The Samian workshops were to surpass those of all the rest of Greece in the different branches of artistic skill. The magnificence displayed by Polycrates gave ample opportunities for calling forth performances of constantly increasing grandeur, and a new progress and new discoveries, in small things as in great, in comprehensive designs of temples and palatial edifices, as well as in the limited department of diamond-cutting, a branch of art derived from Babylon, which here for the first time found a place in the circle of Hellenic art.

his patronage of art, science, and literature.

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In the first instance, the labours of the Samian workshops were for the personal benefit of the Tyrant. The so-called Old-Fort (Astypalæa), a round height with precipitous walls on every side, which arises with a large plateau from the shore, he converted into a citadel, the massive walls of which, twelve feet thick and surmounted by mighty circular turrets, are in part preserved to this day. Within these walls lay the palace, where, guarded by his Scythians, the Samian prince held his court in proud security. His apartments were adorned at the same time with the luxuriant pomp of the East and the suggestive creations of Hellenic art. His table was furnished with the costliest gains of the depths of the sea; on his finger he wore the most beautiful of rings, produced in the school of Theodorus; it bore as crest a lyre, the symbol of the god in whose name he held sway over the Archipelago. The choicest wine from the numerous vineyards of his island was served to him by boys who on account of their beauty had been carried off from the shores far and near. The artists outvied one another in representing the likeness of his favourites in bronze, and the most gifted poets in celebrating their charms in immortal song: Anacreon of Teus and Ibycus of Rhegium sat at the table of Polycrates. Intoxicated by good fortune, enchained by the favour of the princely patron of art, they indulged themselves in the enjoyment of the life in which he bade them participate; their songs were the crown of his feasts. The most famous physician known in Greece, Democedes of Croton, who had first been in the service of the Æginetans, and then in that of the Athenians, as a public physician, he invited to Samos at an annual salary of two talents (£450 *circa*). For scientific entertainment he provided by the establishment of a collection of manuscripts, in which Hellenic and Oriental literature were for the first time brought together; having also induced Chaldæans, on account of their astronomical information and knowledge of

the magic art, to visit Samos, where they could try their powers against prophets from Elis. CHAP. V.

The citadel of Samos.

Immediately under his royal citadel, the narrow limits of which included so many wonders never united before on one spot, lay his harbour of war; in which his triremes were moored behind the mighty piers of rock which, sunk twenty fathoms deep in the sea, gave a nearly circular shape to the harbour. Thus from his fastness he surveyed his whole navy of war and fleet of merchantmen; and could receive from every squadron on its return home the first tidings of victory before it had left the high seas, or issue his final orders to his admirals on their departure. The swiftest vessels lay, in attendance on his commands, at the base of the castle-rock, through which descended a secret passage; and the exercises and races of the vessels took place under the windows of his palace. The whole view of the citadel, as seen from the water, announced the ruler of the sea; and was so full of grandeur that it was one of the favourite schemes of the Emperor Caligula, who was always hankering after aping the marvellous, to revive the royal citadel of Samos in Italy.

Public works.

Nobler and more praiseworthy were the efforts of Polycrates for the interests of the community at large, though even in these his only real object was again his own glorification. Below the castle the temptations of gain continued to attract a constantly growing town-population; nor was it easy to provide quickly for the rapid growth of the town. Above all, the low country by the sea lacked fresh water; and in summer the inhabitants felt a painful longing for the mountain-springs of the Ampelus, in the benefits of whose clear waters, bubbling up some distance inland beyond the mountain, few had an opportunity of sharing.

The great Aqueduct.

These circumstances offered Polycrates a welcome opportunity for an extraordinary achievement. In his service he had the first water-architect of his times,

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Eupalinus, the son of Naustrophus, of Megara, whose master had been Theagenes. According to his design, prepared by Eupalinus, the entire mountain lying between the city and the spring was pierced. A tunnel, eight feet in breadth and eight in height, was built in a length of seven stadia, *i.e.* 4,200 feet, on an accurately calculated incline through the mountain, and in it a gutter three feet broad added. Here the water flowed in the shady depths of the rock, while it was at the same time accessible to the open air; in the summer the citizens could even walk beside the entire length of the rushing stream towards the mountains, through the cool recesses of the rock. At the lower end of the tunnel the mountain-water was received by a walled channel and conducted into the heart of the city, where it could feed the wells, pipes, and baths, cleanse the cloacæ, and finally purify the basin of the harbour.

The Heræum.

Of course the glory of Samos, the Heræum, was not neglected by Polycrates. Under his rule, and through his efforts, it became the wealthiest and greatest of all Hellenic sanctuaries known to the world as late as the days of Herodotus. After every successful exploit, a portion of the spoils was consecrated to it in memory of the victory. The costliest gifts of the foreign allies of Samos were placed in the Heræum, as well as the masterpieces of the Samian artists, who had been found worthy of a place in this museum of foreign and native art. The Heræum, the aqueduct, and the breakwater in the harbour—these were the three wonders of Samos, which attracted many curious spectators; and as Herodotus mentions them in connexion with the history of Polycrates, and as, moreover, the "works of Polycrates" were known in the whole ancient world, we may conclude that the Tyrannical power had an essential share in all three.

Causes of the fall of Polycrates.

When Cambyses ascended the Persian throne, Polycrates had for more than a generation been in undisturbed possession of his power and glory. It was, then,

assuredly pardonable if he accustomed himself to good fortune as to an inseparable companion of his life. And yet this life was not so splendid as it seemed, and as, very likely, the guests of the palace imagined in the midst of its festive course. Men of more independent thought and sober judgment are said, in spite of all the advantages offered to science and art at Samos, to have found the growing pressure, the suspicion which poisoned all intercourse, and the contagious voluptuousness of Tyrannical rule unbearable: among them, above all, Pythagoras, the wise son of the gem-engraver Mnesarchus, who, in the fortieth year of his age, about the sixty-second Olympiad, emigrated and transplanted to Italy the germs of a philosophy which had developed itself under the influence of an intercourse with Babylon and Egypt, but needed a freer air in which to unfold itself than the sultry atmosphere of the Tyrannis at Samos.

The loud clamours of festivity in the palace found a sharp contrast in the misery of the multitude, the suppressed wrath of the ancient families, and the sullen indignation of the wealthy, who, attracted under a thousand pretexts, were forced to sacrifice their revenues and capital in order that the works of the Tyrant might be accomplished and his luxurious court maintained. No man was to be rich but Polycrates alone. Moreover, he was no better able than the rest of the Greek Tyrants, all of whom he surpassed in pomp and splendour, to remain true to the national ethics. In proportion as everything bowed down before his superhuman fortune, and as even the Greek muse submitted to the offices of a courtier's flattery, he gave himself up to the contagious influence of his Oriental neighbours, to the arbitrary whims of a despot, and the more money and power he owned the more he endeavoured to acquire. Absence of self-restraint proved his ruin.

Revolution at Samos.

Polycrates was well aware of the growing discontent. He thought to follow the dictates of a sagacious policy

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when he offered his aid to Cambyses, and by this means hoped at the same time to be concluding an important alliance with Persia, and ridding himself for ever of a number of discontented subjects. With proud self-satisfaction he saw the squadron of his forty penteconteres put to sea for Egypt; he felt himself as the equal ally of the Great King, and thought henceforth to be able to draw breath more freely in his own land. In both points he had miscalculated. On the fleet, which he had incautiously filled with too great a number of his adversaries, an open mutiny broke out. The fleet renounced its allegiance to him, and returned from the Carpathian sea. Polycrates was obliged to sail out himself to meet the rebels with a lesser number of vessels, in order at all events to keep the rebellion away from the island itself. In vain; he is beaten: the rebels land immediately after he has himself effected his retreat to the island; and only by resorting to the most desperate means, by imprisoning their wives and children in the naval magazines, and threatening to burn them to death, is he able to master the rebellion. The conspirators depart, but on *his* fleet, and only in order to return with foreign aid.

The Spartans at Samos. Ol. 63, 4. (B.C. 525 circ.)

They turn to Sparta. Here, after some oscillation, the bolder party prevailed, which was eager to forego this splendid opportunity of extending the Lacedæmonian influence. They pointed out how, from the period of the Messenian war, the Spartans had lain under an obligation to Samos, whose popular community was represented by its envoys asking for aid against an overbearing Tyrant. The Corinthians, who towards the end of the rule of Periander had been offended by the Samians, urgently advocated war, and helped to assemble a fleet. After a successful passage they blockaded the Tyrant, and fearlessly essayed the storming of the lofty walls of the lordly citadel of Samos. On the side towards the sea, above the outer city, the wall had already been mounted, and the per-

sonal courage of the Tyrant was called into play before the enemies could be driven out again, while the Spartans had contemporaneously effected a successful entrance from the land side. But the two bravest combatants in the van, Archias and Lycopas, fell, cut off from the main body of their friends. The storming party retreated, and the siege became protracted. The Tyrant was saved by the strong walls of his fortress, by the unskilfulness of the Spartans in conducting a siege, and lastly, as it would appear, also by their greed of money.

The conspirators, deserted by Sparta, had to relinquish their plans. They cruised about in the Archipelago, where they endeavoured to damage the power of the Tyrant, and levied forced contributions on the wealthiest of the neighbouring islands, particularly on Siphnos, whose citizens chanced to be engaged in rebuilding their city market from the superfluity of their silver and gold mines, and in surrounding it with marble halls. They felt strong enough to refuse the ten talents demanded by the fleet of the Samian pirates. A battle ensued; and the Siphnians having lost it, were now mulcted in tenfold the original amount. Thereupon the Samians proceeded to the Peloponnesian coast, where with Siphnian gold they purchased from the Hermioneans the island of Hydrea, as a suitable station whence they might plunder the Argive and Saronic gulf, particularly at the expense of the Æginetans. At last, their possession of Hydrea being protected by the Trœzenians, they repaired to Crete, in order to expel the Zacynthians from Cydonia; probably by desire of the Lacedæmonians, who were on hostile terms with the Zacynthians. For five years they maintained themselves at Cydonia, and the importance of their power is proved by the union which took place between Crete and Ægina, in order to make war upon these buccaneers.

Polycrates had saved his throne, but his power was shaken, and his dominion over the sea broken. From

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End of Polycrates.

Ol. 64, 3. (B.C. 522.)

his own resources he was unable to make good his enormous losses; he needed money and allies. His good fortune, to which he committed himself with ever new confidence, seemed to offer him both at the right season. For just as he is considering whither he shall next turn, envoys from Magnesia, which had again risen out of its ruins as the city of a Persian satrap, knock at his palace gates. They are charged with a secret message from Orœtes, to whom Cambyses, at that time in the land of the Nile, had confided the viceroyship in the anterior part of Asia Minor. The envoys announce that their master has forfeited the favour of the Great King, and, knowing for certain that the worst fate awaits him, in order to avoid ruin desires the protection and hospitality of the powerful Tyrant, whom he will join with his treasures and make a participator in them.

Polycrates was unable to resist these temptations. After convincing himself through Mæandrius, his most confidential companion, of the reality of the treasures exhibited on the Asiatic shore, nothing could restrain him from giving way to his blind passion, not even the warnings of his daughter, who clung to him with tears even on board his galley.

To the rapid beat of his oars he sped, full of blissful hopes, to the shore of the mainland, where already he saw gleaming the chests filled with gold. Here he was seized by the sentries of Orœtes who lay in wait for him, and nailed to the cross. The dream of his daughter was fulfilled. The prince of Samos hung by the sea-shore between heaven and earth, "bathed by Zeus, anointed by the sun, to become the food of the birds of the air."

Orœtes had been commissioned to continue the operations of Harpagus, and firmly establish and gradually extend the Persian power on the coast of Asia Minor. In this undertaking so little success had attended him, that instead of accomplishing it he had seen, after the subjection of Ionia, a new Ionian

power arise in Samos, as it were, in derisive defiance of the Persian wars, a power surpassing any of earlier times, while some tract of coasts and islands had even been again lost by Persia. By force the powerful Tyrant was not to be approached; all the greater was the success which attended upon insidious guile. The servants of Polycrates were kept back after the horrible end of their master, but the other Samians were sent home free by the satrap, that through them he might at a future time find easier means of possessing himself of the island. But he went himself without the prize of his deed of shame. Samos retained her independence under Mæandrius, but her naval dominion was at an end, and with it the last Ionian power which might possibly have been able to resist the advance of the Persians.

Mæandrius and Syloson.

The Tyrannical power had fallen into the hands of Mæandrius, without his possessing the capacity for becoming the successor of a Polycrates; he was neither bold enough to conduct the destinies of Samos according to the plans of the Tyrant, nor noble-hearted and unselfish enough to sacrifice his sudden gains. Accordingly all the measures taken by him were half-measures. After the fall of his patron, to whom he owed everything, he assumed the character of a friend of the people, and erected an altar to Zeus the "Liberator." Thereupon he again retired into the citadel as a despot. The Asiatic Ionians were not, like the Athenians, capable of returning from a Tyrannical government to a system of order and obedience to the laws. No state, after presenting the most gorgeous spectacle of Greek despotic monarchy, experienced in fuller measure the curse of Tyrannical power—lasting disorder, and national disorganisation and demoralisation; no state fell from what seemed the height of greatness to a lower depth. The fair island was ruined by a succession of crimes and misfortunes. For after Mæandrius had ruled for a few years, Syloson, the younger brother of Polycrates, who had found an opportunity of conferring an obligation upon Darius, was restored to

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Samos by the latter. The occupation and devastation of the island was one of the first deeds of the youthful Great King after he had ascended the throne of Cyrus.

The Persian empire.

Meanwhile the great Persian empire had itself undergone the most violent shocks. At the very time when it was extending its frontiers on a scale of splendid grandeur, it had at home narrowly escaped falling away in complete dissolution.

Cambyses.

True, the gigantic undertakings of the Persian armies, which were to add an entire continent to the heritage of the Asiatic empire, had by no means met with absolute success. The fortune of war, to which Cambyses blindly trusted, deserted him when in haughty arrogance he refused to recognise any limits to his dominion. With the remnants of his exhausted army he had to return from the land of the Upper Nile, before he had accomplished as much as the fifth part of the road to the habitations of the free tribes of Æthiopia; and concerning the 50,000 troops whom he had despatched against the sacred Ammonium, he barely heard the tidings that the awful simooms had fallen upon the whole army, and that it had found a terrible end in the hot sands of Libya. Even the enterprise against Carthage, the king's favourite plan, had to be given up, because the Phœnicians refused to lend their ships for this undertaking.

Thus the haughty king was indeed forced against his will to recognise the limits of his power on land as well as on the sea; but yet, notwithstanding all untoward events, he had immeasurably increased the paternal empire. The empire of the Pharaohs, the ancient hereditary foe of the states of Anterior Asia, the inaccessible land of the Nile, for thousands of years secluded in obstinate self-sufficiency, had with all its treasures and wonders become a Persian province; and the idolatry of the Egyptians, an abomination in the eyes of the nations of Iran, had fallen to the ground

before Arumazda. The wild tribes of Arabia did homage to the Great King; the fleets of the Phœnicians and Greeks were at his beck and call; the Libyans, protected by the belt of desert surrounding their land, sent envoys to Memphis, and from the Syrte came the gifts of the Hellenes at Cyrene.

During the campaigns in Africa Cambyses had changed into another man. Tempted by his good fortune into the haughty arrogance of a sultan, and by his bad fortune excited in an even higher degree to reckless passion, he had wholly undone his position among the Persians. Already before the Egyptian campaign he had secretly made away with his younger brother Bartja, called Smerdis by the Greeks, in whom his father's lofty virtues seemed to survive; and ever afterwards his rule, that of a man under the load of a guilty conscience, from year to year increased in arbitrary cruelty, while drunkenness and wantonness disgraced the throne of Cyrus. The crown-lands were left in ruinous neglect, morality and manners lay low, in the land of Iran: and men missed the arm of the ruler.

The false Smerdis proclaimed king by the Median party.

This state of things was seized upon by the Median party which had remained powerful in Iran. Cambyses himself appears from mistrust against the great lords of the Persians to have invested the Magian Patizithes with extraordinary power, by confiding to him the administration of his palace and his treasures. Patizithes rebelled; he declared the throne of Cyrus vacant, and caused his brother Gumata, who resembled the murdered Bartja, to be proclaimed as the younger son of Cyrus. In the midst of the universal confusion prevailing throughout the empire the party of the Magians succeeded in giving effect to their lie. They obtained adherents in the land, by announcing to the population (long sick of wars) the cessation of military service and war-taxes; the sudden end of Cambyses, who had died on the march home from Egypt in a savage outbreak of fury, contributed to strengthen the false Bartja's tenure of the throne, and while the nations

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believed themselves ruled by a son of the great Cyrus, the Magians had despoiled his race of the sovereignty and removed the seat of the Imperial Government back to Media.

Darius, the son of Hystaspes.

The noble clans of the Persian nation, however, were not prepared to allow their right to the crown to be thus easily taken away from them. The heads of their clans, representing the seven noblest families, met to consult as to the position of affairs. They were by birth the equals of one another; but by the ancient dignity of his house and his near relationship to Cyrus the first among them was indubitably Hystaspes, the head of the younger line of the Achæmenidæ, whom Cyrus had left behind in Persia as his lieutenant. He was already advanced in age; and accordingly resigned his own position with its honours and duties in favour of his son Darius, at that time twenty-eight years of age. Darius appeared the born ruler, and already Cyrus is said once upon a time to have seen him in a dream, seated on his throne and with double wings overshadowing Asia and Europe.

In conjunction with the members of his race he succeeded in accomplishing the second foundation of the Persian monarchy, which was no less glorious than the first. The party of the Magians was surprised and annihilated in their Median castle, and their empire of falsehood destroyed: but a succession of arduous struggles was needed to restore unity to the whole empire,—which had grown unaccustomed to coherent order, and was as it were unhinged,—to overthrow treason and resistance, wherever they prevailed, and to conquer anew the revolted satrapies. After about five years the young prince could look upon his victory as complete, and erect a grand monument in memory of it on the high-road from Babylon to Susa. The monument of Bagistana is of great significance for Greek as well as for Asiatic history, in which it marks a turning-point, and indicates the completion of the work which had commenced with the slaughter of the

Magians, the restoration of the power of the Persian empire, of the pure worship of Arumazda, and of the bold policy of the Achæmenidæ, which could not leave the subjection of the Greeks begun by Cyrus a work half done. The triumph of Darius also decisively announced the approaching struggle between Hellenes and Barbarians, or, as had now come to be the settled distinction, between Asia and Europe.

The reforms of King Darius.

The son of Hystaspes was by nature no ambitious conqueror. He had clearly enough perceived the dangers of an unmeasured lust of land in Egypt, where he had served through the whole campaign near the person and under the eyes of the jealous Cambyses. It is certain that during those years of service he observed and learnt much. As contrasted with the fixed order of the empire of the Pharaohs, which had preserved its unity through all revolutions, he had recognised the weak points in the constitution of the Asiatic empire. The Median throne had fallen without offering any resistance, because the different parts of the empire possessed no internal coherence with one another; the whole was an aggregate of countries and peoples who, in proportion to their remoteness, were more or less loosely connected with the heart of the political system. He saw the Persian empire on the road to the same fate, unless the complex of countries were supplied with an internal bond of union, and the idea of Imperial unity, such as had met him in Egypt, approximately realised. The fact that his insight was keen enough to recognise the necessity of this, and his courage equal to venture upon and his energy to accomplish the task, has given to Darius his eminence as a leading figure in the history of the world.

The vassal-states became provinces, and the provinces members of an empire; and these members were combined into a united body by means of a common constitution. Notwithstanding the privileged position of the Persian race, all were in an equal degree

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to be subjects before the throne, and Susa was to be not only the first city, but the real centre of the empire and the seat of its government. At the court grew up a new aristocracy of official personages, the classes of rank were accurately distinguished, in order to keep alive an ambition, the satisfaction of which depended solely on the will of the Great King; the Sublime Porte became the school of training for all royal officers of state in war and in peace. Internal intercommunication was encouraged by means of roads and canals, and trade with foreign countries by enquiry into the sea-routes, and thus the abundance of home resources was raised in a surprising degree. This rise of prosperity was, however, strictly intended to serve the whole commonwealth. For Darius had learnt in the empire of the Pharaohs how a land can be made to yield up all its products, how all its powers ought to be known to and at the disposal of the imperial power. For this purpose a general schedule of the empire was drawn up, the soil measured out, the yearly income estimated, and a fixed land-tax laid upon all the provinces in accordance with it. At the same time, considerable supplies of natural products continued to be received; and every land had to offer as tribute to the Great King that in which its peculiar strength consisted. In addition, there existed a number of indirect taxes, duties such as those paid for the use of the royal waterworks, and other lucrative royalties; finally, considerable revenues flowed to Susa from the domains directly appropriated to the crown. Out of these was formed an imperial treasury, and an annual budget fixed the sums for the regular payment of which into the treasury the individual governors were responsible to the Great King. They were thus, in the first instance, forced to take measures to ensure good order and discipline in their administrative circles, and in every way to secure the public safety. At the same time the coinage was regulated, and money was hence-

forth coined on the basis of the Babylonian talent. An imperial currency was created, which, on account of the accuracy with which its own standard was adhered to, as well as of its agreement with the Greek standard of money, uncommonly facilitated dealings with the mercantile towns of the west.

Thus the entire state was thoroughly and completely transformed, and the rein upon it drawn tighter in every respect, while a new spirit of administration drove out the ancient usages. Of course murmurs and complaints largely accompanied these changes. In contrast to the patriarchal conditions of earlier times, when the taxes only reached the Great King in the form of presents, the whole system of the empire now appeared to resemble the business of a money-speculator; and the proverb circulated among the people that Cyrus had ruled the empire like a father, Cambyses like a master, and Darius like a usurer. Meanwhile, the king knew how to punish and suppress all sentiments unfavourable to himself: by means of his numerous agents he was everywhere present, though unseen, and had sufficient information concerning all matters to keep high and low in the whole empire in a state of fear and anxiety.

Asia Minor under Darius.

In this way, an empire had been organised in the eyes of the Greeks, such as had never previously existed in extent and power. The Ionian towns on the coasts and islands, whose numbers had recently been supplemented by the important acquisitions of Samos, formed, under the name of Juna, a province for the purposes of taxation which stretched from Lycia to the Hellespont; a second comprehended the shores of the Propontis and the Bosporus, and was governed from Dascylium. The capital of Mysia was Sardes. Cilicia, with its Greek coast-places, stood under the satrap of Tarsus. The individual cities were left to themselves, but their political life was watched, and care taken that in the most important cities men on whom reliance could be placed should be at the helm; men

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who had raised themselves among their fellow-citizens as party-leaders, and whose power was subsequently upheld by Persian influence; who accordingly were well aware that their rule would speedily find an end as soon as the commanders of the imperial troops in the vicinity withdrew their support from them. Such Tyrants under the protection of the Great King were Histiæus at Miletus, Æaces, the successor of Syloson, in Samos, Strattis in Chios, Laodamas in Phocæa, Aristagoras in Cyme, and another of the same name in Cyzicus, Daphnis in Abydus, Hippoclus in Lampsacus, and others, all men of personal distinction, whose advice and aid was of great use to Darius. For as, under his patronage, they hoped to found dynasties in their native cities, it was their interest to preserve order and peace there in every way, and, on the other hand, to be ready to perform any service for the empire.

The Scythian expedition of Darius. *Ol.* 66, 3. (B.C. 513 *circ.*)

But, however greatly the organisation of the empire engaged all the thoughts of Darius, he could not content himself with that occupation. He was bound to prove himself by warlike deeds a worthy successor of Cyrus, and this all the more, inasmuch as men had grown inclined to remark a lack of bold enterprise in his whole system of government. Moreover, the tranquillity of his palace-life was disturbed by the ambition of his consort Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, who regarded herself as the connecting link between the elder and younger line, and felt it her mission to prevent the warlike attitude of the Persian power, as established by her father, from falling into abeyance. Yet the undertakings of Darius all bear a perfectly unique character. Made wise by the experiences of his predecessors, he endeavoured to avoid large territorial acquisitions as well as undertakings in the interior. The point of view from which he acted was, as it were, to round off the empire, and by the discovery of new routes by sea to continue to increase its share in the general commercial intercourse of nations. In the East, his plan was to support the empire on the

Indian Alps, to include in it the territory of the Indus as far as the desert, and to open up that river to navigation. The Southern frontier he recognised in the desert of Arabia; the Northern in the steppes of the Turanian tribes. In the West, on the other hand, there existed no natural frontier, for the narrow passages of the sea, after all fear of it had been overcome, seemed merely so many invitations for crossing to the mainland opposite, the subjection of which necessarily appeared as the natural completion of the complex of territories already under the Persian dominion. The Asiatic Thracians had been already subjected; and the Thasian silver coins gave evidence of the treasures of the Thrace beyond the sea. But, above all, he was attracted by the reports as to the gold of the Scythians, and as to the great navigable rivers of their country, which were said to empty their waters into a vast bay of the sea. Here he hoped to be able to open up new routes of trade, and to unite a series of important cities with the empire by means of a campaign passing along the length of the coast and accompanied by his fleet. Bands of Scythians serving in the army of Darius promised to facilitate the undertaking, and after he had ordered a preliminary survey of the coast to be instituted by Ariamnes, he resolved personally to conduct the great undertaking which for the first time brought the hosts of Anterior Asia upon the mainland of Europe.

The royal messengers for the first time called the whole military force of the newly organised empire under arms, and above all in the ports of Ionia an incredible activity ensued. Here were the resources on which Darius could alone depend for success in his campaign, and hence had proceeded the first impulse leading to its commencement. For the Tyrants of the cities hoped to find in it an opportunity of acquiring distinction and ample remuneration, by performing services of importance; and the cities themselves, it must be remembered, were to such a degree

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connected with the Pontus that they could not exist without maintaining an uninterrupted intercourse with it. They hoped by means of the expedition of Darius to increase their power there, and to be freed from the payment of tribute to the Scythian princes, and the constant fear of being fallen upon by the latter; finally, they hoped to be able to extend their commercial relations with greater security over the narrow border of the coast-line. Hence the general participation of Ionia in the undertaking, which almost appeared to resemble a national Ionic enterprise. The Ionian dynasts formed the Great King's council of war, and all Ionia's practical science, art, and technical skill, experience and naval efficiency, appeared to have matured for no other purpose than that of constituting the right arm of the Persian king in this great expedition. Never yet had it become so clearly apparent what Ionia was able to offer when united as a whole.

Darius on the Bosporus.

The trading cities forgot that they were at the same time furnishing the Persian king with the means of subjecting the towns of the Hellenes in Europe, and helping to narrow and limit more and more the confines of free Greece. They forgot this; and there is even no doubt that the Ionian Greeks, particularly the Samians, who had already at an earlier date been in feud with the Dorian colonies, were pleased to find the two Megarian colonies, Chalcedon and Byzantium, the first objects of the expedition. Thus the first Greek towns of the western mainland were sacrificed to the Barbarians by Greeks; and Mandrocles, the commander of the Samian engineers, was not ashamed to regard the bridge across the Bosporus, built under his directions, by means of which the despot of Asia clasped the first fetter on Europe, as a masterpiece of Hellenic genius, and to dedicate a picture, representing the bridge of boats and the crossing of the army, to the national sanctuary of the Samians. When Darius stood by the mouth of the Bosporus, and from the spot where Hellenic navigators had built an altar to

Zeus Οὔριος (*i.e.* the sender of prosperous winds), for the first time gazed with wondering eyes into the new world of waters and shores of the Pontus, he caused two columns to be erected in memory of this remarkable moment; and on these were inscribed in Persian cuneiform and in Greek characters the multitudes of the tribes forming his hosts; for to such a degree was the whole undertaking regarded by him as half Persian and half Greek. CHAP. V.

The Persians on the Danube.

His attention was in the first instance directed to the Ister. The vessels of the Ionians pursued the well-known track from the Bosporus towards the mouth of the Ister, in order to throw a bridge across the river above the point where it branches off in several directions; while the land army advanced through the territory of the Thracians and Getæ, its numbers being gradually swelled by the tribes of these nations, whose chieftans were forced to join the expedition. Among these tribes were also the Dolonci, who inhabited the tongue of land by the Hellespont, under the sway of their prince belonging to the Attic house of the Cypselidæ (vol. i. p. 353). Miltiades had built a wall cutting across the narrowest part of this tongue of land, in order to protect his small peninsular dominion against the northern barbarians. He had also endeavoured to establish a firm footing on the opposite shore, and had thus come into contact with Crœsus, who was well able to appreciate the importance of the Attic prince. Nay, they were on so close a footing of alliance, that once when Miltiades had by accident fallen into the hands of the men of Lampsacus, Crœsus threatened to destroy their city, unless they immediately gave up their prisoner. The childless Miltiades was succeeded by his nephews, the sons of the Cimon whom the Pisistratidæ had slain (vol. i. p. 372); first Stesagoras, under whom the struggles with the further shore of the Hellespont, and particularly with Lampsacus, were continued with extreme exasperation, and after him

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Miltiades, who had surrounded himself with a body-guard, and was nursing bold plans for extending his sway over the coasts and islands in the vicinity, when the march of Darius took him by surprise, and made him against his will the instrument of foreign plans of conquest. On the Ister the two divisions of the Persian armament reunited; and the fleet sailed two days' journey up the stream. It is extremely probable that the reflecting mind of Darius entertained no other intention than that of constituting the Danube the frontier of the empire on this side, corresponding to the Indus on the east. The bridge of boats was merely to serve to attest the Great King's sway over the mighty stream, and to spread the fear of his hosts in the land of the Danube; for it is clear that he had no thoughts of a measureless and aimless advance on the other side of the river. He desired to be expected back at the bridge at the latest in a couple of months. In Darius there was more of the desire of discovery than of that of conquest; he wished to explore the country, and at the same time obtain the glory of having, as a worthy successor of Cyrus, brought honour to the name of the god of the Persians by the exploits of Persian arms in the deserts of Turan.

Conspiracy at the bridge across the Danube;

On this march the troops lost their way in the trackless steppes, into which they had been tempted by the Scythians hovering around them. They had to undergo the trials of sustaining an unequal contest and straying they knew not whither; the term fixed for their return could not be adhered to; and, among the Ionian princes who had been left behind to cover the bridge, the design was proposed of breaking the bridge, sacrificing the king, and employing the opportunity of destroying the entire host, without themselves incurring any danger. Of all the conspiracies which had threatened the power of Darius this was by far the most dangerous. It originated among the tribes who had been last of all forced to join the expedition, and centred in the Athenian

Miltiades, who saw his cherished designs for the future destroyed by the invasion of the Persians. This plot, with all its momentous consequences, would have indubitably been executed, had not in this instance again Greeks stood opposed to Greeks. Histiæus was the spokesman of the princes of Asia Minor, who under the supreme sovereignty of Darius held sway in the Greek towns. He easily convinced them that his dominion at Miletus, and in an equal degree that of the other princes, was so closely connected with the royal power, that the destruction of the latter would be tantamount to self-destruction. And since in general the results of this northern campaign for the Ionians were pure glory and profit, and since moreover they anticipated the greatest advantages for their trade in the future, the opinion of Histiæus prevailed; and, saved by him, Darius with the remnants of his army passed across in safety to the right bank of the Danube.

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its frustration by Histiæus.

Since in a Persian campaign no regard was paid to human life, the Scythian expedition could, notwithstanding the great losses accompanying it, be celebrated as a great deed accomplished by the king. The limits of the empire of the Achæmenidæ had been widely extended; the sounds of the Hellespont and the Bosporus had ceased to separate nations and states; and the Ister was accounted the new frontier of the empire. Much, however, remained to be done in order to regulate the condition of the broad mainland bounded by this new frontier, as of a satrapy of the empire, and to procure universal recognition for the authority of the Great King. For this purpose Megabazus, whom Darius distinguished by his special confidence as one of his most efficient statesmen and generals, was left behind with 80,000 troops; while the king himself crossed the Hellespont at Sestus, and returned to Upper Asia, after taking all necessary measures for securing the Asiatic side of the sound, in case the Scythians should desire to undertake retaliatory expeditions into Asia. For they continued

Results of the campaign.

Satrapy of Megabazus.

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in a state of agitation long after the Persian invasion, refusing to respect the Danube as a frontier-line: during the next few years their flying bands came as far as the Ægean, so that even Miltiades had to escape out of his kingdom before them.

Campaigns of Megabazus.

The military operations of Megabazus were twofold; for he had to do both with the native tribes and with Greek coast-towns. But the latter only offered him a vigorous resistance; among them particularly Perinthus, the colony of the Samians, whose broad terraces rose on a peninsula of the Propontis, admirably situated for purposes of defence. However, the city was already weakened by attacks of the Pæonians, and had to surrender to the superior power of Megabazus. When the latter found his rear free, he advanced westwards into Thrace proper, the vigorous population of which was already to such a degree split up into innumerable tribes, that there could be no question of a common and effective resistance. The most powerful people was that of the Pæonians on the Strymon, who were related by descent to the Phrygians and Trojans, and, as their wars with Perinthus show, at that time themselves entertained thoughts of extending their power and obtaining maritime dominion. Their progress was now violently interrupted, not only by their being forced to do homage, but by the forcible transplantation of a large body of the inhabitants by orders of Darius into the interior of Asia Minor.

Thus the army of Megabazus had advanced as far as the Strymon, whose mighty waters, together with the broad reedy lake through which he flows, and the deep bay of the sea into which he empties his waters after breaking through the Pangæon, form a frontier of great importance inside the land of the Thracian coast. Though indeed no success attended the attempts at subjecting either the mountain tribes of the Pangæon or the places built on piles in the low country on the Strymonian lake, yet envoys were sent even to the remoter tribes, in order that the King of the Persians

might be acknowledged even beyond the regions of the Strymon. Here the most notable kingdom was that of the Macedonians, at that time under the rule of King Amyntas. CHAP. V.

The Macedonian kingdom.

Amyntas belonged to a collateral branch of the Temenidæ of Argos. During the disturbances which interrupted the legitimate succession of the Argive kings (vol. i. p. 254), about the middle of the ninth century B.C., Caranus had come into Macedonia and had obtained royal power among the mountain tribes whose habitations bordered on those of the tribes of Northern Greece, and who were by descent akin to the latter (vol. i. p. 110); and this royal power became hereditary in his house. Their power was not that of despotic princes, but one regulated from the first by laws and mutual agreement. The whole history of the empire connects itself with the dynasty of the Temenidæ. For although there were many princely houses in the land, which felt themselves by birth the equals of these immigrants, yet the latter contrived to establish a power above all the rest which securely advanced in strength. The history of this power commences with Perdiccas, who pushed his conquering march forward from the mountain fastness of Ægæ into the gulf of Thessalonica. Ægæ occupied an exceedingly advantageous situation in the mountain range of Bermion, where it is broken through by the Lydias, who afterwards empties his waters between the Haliacmon and the Axius into the gulf of Thessalonica. The low country in which this abundance of waters meets was the ancient Emathia, by the conquest of which the Macedonian Temenidæ established their imperial power. However, for an entire century after the death of its founder Perdiccas, the princes were hindered from any further advance by unceasing wars with the Illyrians, who not only pressed round the frontiers of the empire, but even inside these formed a great proportion of the population, which obstinately resisted the adoption of Hellenic manners of life.

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Amyntas.

Amyntas, the fifth successor of Perdiccas, was the first king who found himself sufficiently unhampered to be able to occupy himself with the affairs of foreign states. It was he who entered into an alliance with the Pisistratidæ and offered to the banished Hippias the territory of Anthemus on the bay of Thessalonica, in order by means of him (as Gyges had done by means of Miletus) to establish a firm footing on the sea-coast. In the house of Amyntas Greek culture reigned, and his son Alexander had adopted it with his whole heart and soul. Alexander was a thorough Greek, and recognised the future of Macedonia as depending on her intimate connexion with the Hellenic states. While accordingly the king, already advanced in age, at the approach of the Persian power thought himself obliged to bow down before inevitable necessity, the indignation of the fiery youth was raised in so high a degree by the demands of the Achæmenidæ, who wished to bind his country to the destinies of an Oriental empire, that he caused them to be assassinated in the gynæceum of his father, their whole retinue and gorgeous array falling into the hands of the Macedonians. Notwithstanding this event, a peaceable understanding was effected with the Persians, who as yet lacked the requisite power for an intervention by force. Amyntas did homage to Darius, whose empire henceforth nominally extended as far as the frontiers of Thessaly. The whole Alpine country of Northern Greece was now under vassals of the Achæmenidæ; and as formerly the Dorians had advanced from Macedonia to the south, so the Barbarians now wished at the opportune moment to penetrate into the lower country, in order to surround the sea on the west side also with their power.

Histiæus in Myrcinus.

The ambitious Tyrants among the Greeks abetted these plans, particularly Histiæus of Miletus, who, as a recompense for having saved the king and his army, had craved the territory of Myrcinus on the Strymon, a domain which promised to the sagacious prince an

abundance of the most costly gain; for here he had silver and gold mines, as well as an inexhaustible supply of timber, and a coast abounding in harbours. Here he thought to be at a sufficient distance from Susa to be able to act undisturbed according to his own plans. He lost no time in pursuing them, and was actively engaged in erecting strong walls and a large town on the Strymon, which was to become a second Miletus, a place of assemblage of the surrounding tribes, a capital of the Thracian sea, whence with the aid of the northern trade-winds, of whose importance for the command of the Archipelago he must have assuredly been aware, he intended to make himself master of the southern towns. It was at this moment that Megabazus was returning to the Hellespont from his Pæonian campaign; he beheld the vast preparations of Histiæus, and saw through the ambitious plans of one who, as a Hellene, was hateful to him. He found it an easy task to rouse the suspicions of King Darius. The consequence was that Histiæus was summoned to Susa, and, on the pretext of the king's inability to spare him from his immediate vicinity, detained at court.

The successor of Megabazus in the supreme command of the royal troops employed to extend and firmly establish the Persian power on the Greek sea was Otanes. He captured the two cities of the Bosporus, Byzantium and Chalcedon, and then united with Coes, upon whom Darius, in gratitude for the fidelity evinced by him at the bridge of the Danube had bestowed Lesbos as a fief, in order by a joint expedition to capture Lemnos and Imbros. After a valiant resistance the Lemnians were handed over to Lycaretus, the brother of the Samian Mæandrius. Thus the Propontis, as well as the northern sounds and the principal among the northernmost islands, were in the hands of the Persians, who by this means had possessed themselves of the most important points of attack against Greece. Both the ambition of the Persian lieutenant-governors and the policy of the

Extension of the Persian empire in the West

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Great King, who kept his glance unswervingly fixed upon the West, guaranteed the certainty of no halt being made at these points. A further advance was caused by a remarkable concatenation of circumstances, both great and small.

Democedes the physician.

The suite of Polycrates, who had accompanied the Tyrant on the last errand of his life, included his body-physician Democedes. He had been retained as a slave by Orœtes; and after this satrap, who at Sardes behaved with ungovernable assumption towards both friend and foe, and even rose against his king and master, had been killed by his own body-guard at the bidding of Darius, the physician, formerly the honoured citizen of Croton, and sought in rivalry by the first states of Greece, remained unnoticed in sordid chains at Sardes, regretfully remembering his home.

Now it chanced that, Darius happening to suffer from a sprained foot caused by an accident in the chase, an enquiry took place throughout the whole empire for men cunning in medicine; for the violent treatment adopted by Egyptian physicians, who were accounted the best at Susa, had only made the matter worse, and the king passed sleepless nights on his couch. It was then that some one bethought him of the Crotoniate. He was fetched out of his dungeon at Sardes. At first he wished to keep secret his command of his art, for no chance of honour and gain could console him for the loss of his home. But his pretences availed him nothing. He became the body-physician of the king—a wealthy, distinguished, and much envied man, particularly after he had further succeeded in healing a tumour on the breast of the daughter of Cyrus. But even this success in his art he only employed to make his return home possible. He never ceased to direct the attention of Atossa towards Greece, and the more she heard of the artistic capacities of the Hellenes, the more was she filled with the desire of being waited upon by Laconian, Attic, and Corinthian

women. She was sufficiently acquainted with Greek affairs to persuade Darius that there could be no less dangerous and no more remunerative campaign than one against the little states beyond the sea. Though Darius refused to be talked out of his campaign against the Scythians, yet he was found ready to send out scouts under the guidance of Democedes to the Hellas beyond the sea, and thus the plan was executed which the crafty physician had formed in his mind.

It was about the time when Hipparchus was assassinated in the Attic Ceramicus, and when Mandrocles threw a bridge across the Bosporus, that two royal galleys sailed out of the harbour of Sidon, in noble array, intended to do honour to the Persian flag on its first introduction into Greek waters. On board were fifteen of the noblest Persians, while the galleys were accompanied by a vessel of burden, which among other things also contained a quantity of gifts for the family of the physician. The latter, who was at the same time prisoner and guide, contrived to steer the squadron by the shortest route to the goal of his private desires, the shores of Magna Græcia. They were detained at Tarentum, whence Democedes effected his escape to Croton. On the market-place of his native city the Persians once more asserted their claims upon the servant of the Great King, and threatened his vengeance. But Democedes was not given up. At Croton he married the daughter of Milo, with whose name he had already made Susa familiar; and the Persians drifted hither and thither, without a guide, in the Ionian sea, till at last, after many adventures, they were conducted safe home by a Tarentine.

Persians in Croton. Ol. 66, 3. circ. (B.C. 514.)

Thus, even before the Scythian campaign, Darius had already come into hostile contact with the Greek towns in Italy. For Hellas proper, however, Sardes continued to be the centre of the relations between Persians and Greeks. In Sardes Darius had established his own brother Artaphernes as governor, while Œbares, the son of Megabazus, had his head-quarters

Complications between Asia and Europe.

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at Dascylium. It was Artaphernes to whom the banished Hippias applied, because he knew that the governor was commissioned to keep a close watch upon all Greek affairs. Hence it was with Artaphernes that the Athenians had first opened communications by means of ambassadors—communications which had immediately caused relations of extreme suspicion and of hostility (vol. i. p. 399). Sparta too had been excited against Persia by Scythian envoys, who well knew how to work upon King Cleomenes with the aid of cups of unmixed wine; vast designs of war were ultimately formed, according to which the Scythians were to invade Media from the Black Sea, and the Peloponnesians to advance into the interior from Ephesus. All states and peoples were in agitation; everywhere it was felt that great events were at hand, and that since the ascent of the throne by Darius the two shores of the Archipelago had been united in a common history, which could only be developed by sanguinary international wars.

In the first instance, however, there ensued, upon the return of the Great King to Susa, a period of universal tranquillity, which not until several years later was interrupted by an entirely new and unexpected complication.

Naxos and Paros.

Among the lesser islands of the Ægean—called by the ancients the Cyclades or Circle islands, because, according to the conception of the times, they surrounded the sacred isle of Delos, as it were, in a solemn circle—Paros and Naxos are the most considerable; a pair of islands separated only by a passage of the sea, and always closely connected with one another. Paros may be distinguished even in the distance by her mountains, which rise in forms of such grandeur that they seemingly intend to announce the costly treasure they contain—an inexhaustible supply of the fairest marble. Paros is moreover of great importance for navigation, on account of the abundance of

springs on her shores and the deep bays of her harbours. In this respect she forms the natural complement of the larger contiguous island. For Naxos rises out of the sea, rounded off on all sides without deeper inlets; and her wide circumference and strong position mark her out as the chief among the neighbouring islands, while at the same time nature has blessed her with manifold products, so that the ancients were at times wont to call her the Lesser Sicily. From the broad summit of the Naxian mountains more than twenty islands are visible lying at their feet, and to the east the view extends as far as the massive ranges of Asia.

After, at an early period, the Delian Amphictyony had loosened the bonds of its union and lost its importance, the islands were connected among one another in various groups, and among them Paros and Naxos rejoiced in a peculiar wealth and prosperity. The Parians on their island, which paid peculiar veneration to the law-giving Demeter, wisely contrived to preserve civil order; and the Naxians, on account of the size and resources of their country, attained to a position resembling to a certain extent that of a federal capital. Yet even these island-states, notwithstanding the greater tranquillity of life accorded to them, were not spared the disturbing influences of party-feuds and violent revolutions.

Civil troubles on Naxos.

The Naxian state was at first led by the families whose ancestors had founded it at the time of the Ionian migration. They dwelt together in the city, in the vicinity of which they owned the best fields and vineyards. The commons acquiesced in the privileged position of the city nobility as long as their own circumstances continued poor. But as soon as the trade in wine and southern fruits, as soon as art and manufacturing industry (vol. i. p. 70), spread a greater degree of prosperity, there arose among the commons a feeling of self-consciousness to which the assumptions of the families became intolerable. Among the country people a certain Telesagoras had acquired a peculiar

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Telesagoras.

authority, and was the popular favourite; he was wealthy, liberal, and kept open house for all. His influence annoyed the nobles. The feeling of mutual opposition became stronger; quarrels ensued on the market-place, particularly in the fish-market, the crowded centre of every Ionian community. When the young nobles wished to haggle about the price demanded for a rare fish which tempted their taste, the dealers were apt to reply that they would rather give it for nothing to Telesagoras, instead of standing bargaining with them. The irritated nobles, in the intoxication of their arrogance, forgot themselves so far as to dishonour the hospitable house of Telesagoras and to ill-treat his daughter. This act of violence was the signal for the commencement of open civil feuds, by which the internal tranquillity of the fair island of Dionysus was disturbed for ever. They brought it into the wider sphere of foreign complications, and the constitutional conflicts of Naxos became the combustible matter which caused the war between Asia and Europe, of which the outbreak had long been feared, to burst forth into bright flames.

On the occasion of Pisistratus' third entry into Athens, there rode at his side the Naxian Lygdamis, who in the struggle against the noble families had risen to the position of a powerful party-leader, and had finally with Athenian aid been reinstated as Tyrant of Naxos. He maintained a close connexion with Pisistratus as well as with Polycrates, but was once more expelled by the Spartans at the time when they made war upon Polycrates. Such violent reactions could not lead to any lasting results; the wrath of the estates was too bitter, the families whom force of arms had restored, and whose members the people was wont to call the "fat," were visited with a double measure of hatred, and soon they were once more homeless wanderers, expelled from their lands and homesteads. This time they sought a nearer and more effective protection; they repaired to Miletus,

Naxian exiles at Miletus.

where some of the noblest Naxian families were connected by bonds of mutual hospitality with the house of Histiæus. With Paros, too, the state of Miletus stood in ancient relations of amity, and Parian men had some generations ago helped the Milesians to settle the affairs of their constitution.

Aristagoras, Tyrant of Miletus;

Under Aristagoras, the cousin and son-in-law of Histiæus, Miletus was attaining to new prosperity; and the ambitious Tyrant was burning with desire to achieve some great deed. Accordingly he acquiesced, full of joyous hopes, in the prayer of the Naxian exiles; in his mind's eye he saw Miletus already reigning as the new capital of the Cyclades, and himself covered with honours and glory. But he could do nothing by himself, and a general levy of the military and naval forces of Ionia was only possible with the consent of the satrap of Sardes. Accordingly, he hurries to Artaphernes, to whom, with all the eloquence at his command, he represents the extraordinary advantages of the present opportunity, particularly the fertility and extent of the island, the importance of its situation, its abundance of slaves and herds, of rowing-vessels and splendid works of art, and finally points to the brilliant extension of the Persian empire feasible at this conjuncture; for together with the island of Naxos the surrounding islands, particularly Paros and Andros, would as a matter of course fall into the hands of the Persians. Starting thence, he declared it to be an easy matter to reach Eubœa, an island as large and wealthy as Cyprus, and excellently adapted by its situation to serve as the base for an expedition against Athens.

his advice to Artaphernes.

Artaphernes, the enemy of the Athenians, readily entered into the proposals of Aristagoras; he eagerly recommended the plan at Susa, and, instead of the hundred vessels originally asked, double that number was promised to Aristagoras. However, Artaphernes had no intention of resigning to the ambitious Hellene,

Aristagoras and Megabates.

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whom in his heart he hated and despised, the glory of the enterprise. He procured from the king for his cousin, Megabates, the nomination to the command of the fleet, together with the commission to execute the plans of Aristagoras. Everything was carried on most energetically and under the seal of the deepest secresy.

Expedition against Naxos. Ol. 70, 1. (B.C. 499.)

In the spring the fleet sailed to Chios, as if merely for one of the practising-trips, by which the Persians sought gradually to familiarise themselves with the Ægean; from Chios, with the help of the north winds, the goal of the expedition was afterwards to be rapidly reached. The fleet was completely armed for action, and Megabates made it his especial care to maintain strict discipline, in order that this first undertaking in the Greek sea might be creditable to the Persians. This occasioned a dispute between the two commanders of the fleet, the unsettled nature of whose relation to one another was the main blunder in the expedition. Aristagoras was greatly angered, because one of his friends, the captain of a ship from Myndus, had been punished for a neglect of duty in a way affecting his honour. The proud Achæmenide refused to defer to the Ionian, and, by way of retaliation upon him, sent secret information to the Naxians of the design against them. The warning came at the right season; the close proximity of the danger, of which no suspicion had previously existed, roused a general outburst of ardour in Naxos. The herds and stores were brought into the capital, the fortifications put in a state of repair, the harbour closed by a chain, the necessary regulations of service in arms settled, and the Perso-Ionian fleet, which had counted on the advantages of a surprise, found itself obliged to undergo the wearisome labours of a siege. Four months the fleet lay opposite the precipitous cliffs on the coasts of the island; supplies began to run short, the Greek cruisers inflicted unceasing damage, and finally all that could be done was to build a fastness, at a remote point of the island, for the Naxian exiles accom-

panying the fleet. Then the magnificent armada sailed away from the island, and the entire enterprise, which had promised so fairly, had resulted in utter failure. CHAP. V.

The whole disgrace, as Megabates had intended, fell upon the head of Aristagoras. He was now to account for it to the Great King; he was to repay the expenses of the war; his office, his honour, his life, were at stake, and he saw only a single way of escape out of his dangerous position. There was no want of agitation and discontent in Ionia; the relations between Greeks and Persians were far from amicable, and the quarrel between Megabates and Aristagoras was no isolated and purely personal affair. Ever since the Scythian expedition a violent dislike against the influence of the Greeks had manifested itself. Various disputes took place, not only in the navy, where the Persians wished to carry out a severe system of discipline unbearable to the Greeks, but also in the cities, which bore a double yoke, that of their own Tyrants and that of the Persian supremacy. The common feeling of opposition against the Persians had brought the different elements of the coast-population, particularly the Carians and the Ionians, so hostile to one another even at as late a period as that of the Mermnadæ, into closer contact, so that a revolt of Ionia could reckon on Carian support. The rising discontent was fostered by ambitious party-leaders; by none in a higher degree than by Histiæus, who had long since come to hate the golden fetters which he wore at Susa. He longed for the fresh air of the sea and for the freedom of Ionia. He had wished to conquer the Greek world, and was now being watched on every side by envious eyes, forced to live inglorious and inactive days at Susa in the ceremonial of the most tedious court-service. He incited his son-in-law to rouse the Ionian towns to revolt without delay; for he saw no other way of escape from the humiliation awaiting him. As for himself, Histiæus hoped that an Ionic revolt would force the Great King to

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dismiss him to his native city. He was desirous at any sacrifice to return to the scene of Ionic history.

Popular feeling at Miletus.

Aristagoras and Hecataeus.

Aristagoras collected his partisans, and brought all his influence to bear for the furtherance of his plans upon the multitude of the Milesians, always eager for a change. There were not wanting calm minds who fully recognised the foolhardiness of the contemplated revolt and endeavoured to stem the current of the popular movement. Their leader and mouthpiece was Hecatæus, the son of Hegesander, a Milesian of ancient race. He had by means of travel and study carefully examined the state of the whole world, as far as at that time it stood in connexion with the states of the Mediterranean; and as the result of his widely-spread knowledge he had acquired a clear insight and a calm judgment of political situations. Fearlessly he entered the noisy market-place, and in weighty words expounded the whole situation of affairs, pointing out all the resources at the command of the Persians and the inevitable consequences of an unsuccessful popular revolt. The empire, he showed, was more powerful, united, and in better order than at any previous period. Efficient generals were in the service of the king, and the most efficient of them in Asia Minor. These were full of wrath against the Greeks, and intent upon an opportunity for humbling them; they were unconditionally devoted to their sovereign lord, and connected with him by blood, as in the case of Artaphernes and Megabates, or by marriage, as in that of Daurises, of Otanes, and of Mardonius; and all of them were ambitious, and burning with eagerness to prove themselves to Darius as the true supports of his throne. The towns could count on active aid neither in the interior of the empire nor from their neighbours, neither from the Greeks nor from the Scythians; while on the other hand the superior force of the enemy threatened them in closest proximity, and not only by land, but also by sea. For the Phœnicians would eagerly seize upon

every opportunity of war against the Ionians. In the hatred of the Phœnicians against the Greeks lay the strength of the Persians. CHAP. V.

But when Hecatæus found that the voice of reason and moderation was powerless in the ears of an excited people, he ceased to contradict their wishes, but not in order to retire in dudgeon or to wait till he might rejoice in their misfortune and the fulfilment of his prophecies; on the contrary, he now took all possible pains to help his countrymen to execute the resolution which they had once taken with the ardour which alone could make possible a successful result.

Speech of Hecatæus.

"If you desire war," he said, "be it so. But if war "it is to be, act like men; and what you do, do with "your whole hearts. What you need is money; "money for vessels and for mercenaries: for it is only "on the sea that you will be able to hold your own. "Sacrifices on the part of the citizens will not suffice; "large sums are needed; and there is only one way "to procure these. Large quantities of the purest gold "lie idle in the treasury of Apollo; above all, the "dedicatory gift of Crœsus. You hesitate to take it? "Is it, forsooth, less criminal to allow them to fall as "booty into the hands of the Persians, the foes of the "god, than to employ them for the honour of your "national deity? One choice only is before you: "whether you will be victorious by means of these "treasures, or by them be vanquished!"

Outbreak of the Ionian revolt.

The Ionians knew how to listen to, and to admire, their Hecatæus; but none but half-measures were taken. The rupture with the Great King was effected in the most audacious way, but nothing was done except for the moment, and no one took measures for providing a strong reserve on which the movement might fall back. Events followed rapidly upon the heels of one another; for, even before the Perso-Ionian fleet had dispersed, Iatragoras was despatched from Miletus to revolutionise the ships' crews. As these had still remained together after the Naxian expedition, a

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favourable opportunity now offered for suddenly constituting the cause of the city of Miletus a national cause of all the Ionians. A bold attempt to arrest the persons of all the Tyrants on the fleet before they had returned into their towns was successfully carried out; whereupon the establishment of popular liberty was simultaneously proclaimed in Miletus itself and in the neighbouring towns. The flames of the revolt now rapidly spread from the market of one town to that of the next; soon all the Ionian and Æolian towns were in open and successful revolt, because the Persian party was everywhere crippled by the arrest of its heads. To the south the movement spread to Caria, to Lycia, and even as far as Cyprus. Nearly all these events happened in the latter part of the summer of the same year in which Naxos had been besieged. The next spring would decide whether the freedom which had been easily gained by one bold stroke could maintain itself in the struggle awaiting it.

Aristagoras in Sparta

Aristagoras was sagacious enough to employ this short delay in a search for allies. In the interior he was unable to effect anything beyond causing the Pæonians who had been transplanted into Phrygia, with whom he was connected through his father-in-law, to rise in revolt and quit their habitations. He subsequently crossed in person to Gytheum and passed up the Eurotas to Sparta, where he found in King Cleomenes a man not afraid of plans of a wide scope. But, however eloquently he expounded all the advantages of taking part in the war and demonstrated the claims of national honour, however unscrupulously he misrepresented Persian valour and the power of the Persian empire, however cleverly with the help of his tablet of bronze, on which the Spartans for the first time beheld a comprehensive view of the lands and seas known to the Greeks, he endeavoured to render the theatre of the war intelligible to them, he failed in meeting with assent at Sparta. There the fruitless enterprise against Samos was yet too freshly remem-

bered, which had so clearly displayed the danger of Ionic contagion. It was doubtless the Ephors from whom the opposition proceeded. Nor was Aristagoras a man capable of calling forth confidence, and least of all in Sparta; the pompousness of his behaviour and his boastful display of his treasures operated most unfavourably upon his cause, which he is said to have finally lost by incautiously, on one occasion, after all the lies which he had palmed off upon the Spartans, telling them the truth in reply to the question as to the distance between Susa and the sea. For when they heard of a march of three months, even the boldest Spartan deemed it sheer foolhardiness to provoke a conflict with so enormous an inland empire. CHAP. V.

and Athens.

Aristagoras met with greater success at Athens and in Eretria. The Athenians, it will be remembered, already stood in an unfriendly relation to Persia; at Athens the intercourse with the Thracian peninsula afforded better means towards a more accurate knowledge of the true state of affairs; it was there understood that war was inevitable; and the courageous self-consciousness animating the Athenian citizens inclined them rather towards assuming the offensive than towards awaiting the chances of events. It was at this time that the ancient traditions of the Ionian migration were revived; nor did Aristagoras omit to flatter the pride of the citizens by representing Athens as the mother of the wealthy towns of Ionia, as the hearth of civil liberty, to whose assistance the daughter-cities, oppressed by the barbarians, looked with hope and confidence. In Eubœa, since the fall of Chalcis, Eretria was the leading city, and in remembrance of the times of the Lelantian war she felt herself obliged to proffer the aid of her alliance to the Milesians. Accordingly at Athens twenty, and at Eretria five, galleys were immediately made ready for sea, in order to follow Aristagoras.

Meanwhile the Persians had not remained inactive. Already, on their passage across, the ships of the

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The burning of Sardes. Ol. 70, 2. (B.C. 499.)

Eretrians had to sustain a hostile encounter with the Phœnician fleet, which had been called out against revolted Ionia; and by land the Persians had advanced upon Miletus, in order speedily to destroy the hearth of the rebellion. To relieve the city and rouse the Asiatics to revolt, the rebels thought they could not do better than advance immediately upon Sardes, so as to display their determination to all the friends of their cause who as yet hesitated. The Athenians in particular seem to have counselled this movement (they had landed near Ephesus towards the end of the summer season). The Ephesians remained upon the whole neutral; but men of Ephesus were found ready to act as guides: and thus the expedition unexpectedly crossed from Tmolus before at Sardes any thought had been taken of defence. The lower town was easily taken, and Artaphernes blockaded in the citadel.

Its results.

The capture of Sardes constituted a turning-point in the history of the war, but not to the advantage of the Greeks; for, although the news of this apparently brilliant achievement caused individual tribes to join the revolt, yet the useless burning of Sardes and the destruction of the temple of Cybele was a fiery signal which alarmed all the country around: it was a deed which provoked the greatest indignation among the Lydians and occasioned a more rapid junction among the enemy's troops. Already in the market-place of the burning city, on the Pactolus, the Lydians fought like desperate men by the side of the Persians against the Ionians, who were driven back with such rapidity that without glory, and even without booty, they had to commence their retreat to the sea. In Susa the destruction of Sardes naturally made so profound an impression that a far more summary and thorough course of action was henceforth pursued, while under other circumstances the revolt would have been thought of less importance, and its suppression delayed for a longer time.

Meanwhile, the rebels were caught before they

had accomplished their retreat, by the troops hastily gathering out of the surrounding country, and suffered a defeat, in consequence of which the Athenians returned home from Miletus. The only result of the whole of their participation in the war was that the Persian king had been more grievously insulted, and his just anger provoked. The Ionians henceforth confined themselves entirely to their fleet, and under cover of the impression called forth by the Sardian campaign, the lamentable result of which could not be appreciated in its true light in more remote quarters, they attempted to gain over to the common cause all the Greek coast and maritime population. Thus the number of the revolted towns and tribes, including even mountaineers like the Caunians, was considerably increased.

Revolt on Cyprus.

After the failure of the rebels in their attempt to advance on the offensive and determine for themselves both the course and the locality of the war, they were now restricted to meeting the attacks of the Persians, who advanced upon the coasts and islands. The difficulty of resistance was increased by the simultaneous advance of the Persians in several armed divisions and in several directions. The next scene of the war was Cyprus, where an exactly similar condition of affairs obtained to that in Ionia; for the island consisted of a group of towns with their territories, ruled by Tyrants under Persian supremacy. The Cyprian revolt, as well as the Milesian, originated in a purely personal cause: for Hellenic freedom merely served as a pretext for the ambition of Onesilus, who grudged his brother Gorgus his dominion in Salamis, the most important of all the island-towns. He roused the islanders, who, with the exception of the inhabitants of Amathus, voluntarily responded to his call. He besieged the city, which appeared to present the sole obstacle to the extension of his sway over the whole island, and summoned to his aid the Ionians who had just returned from Sardes. But

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before their arrival a Persian army had already crossed from Cilicia, and a Phœnician fleet lay in the harbour of Salamis. Though the Ionians defeated the Phœnicians, the land-battle near Salamis was lost through the treachery of the Tyrant Stesenor. Salamis fell, and its fall was followed by that of the remaining towns. Thus, after the peace of the land had been disturbed for the space of a single year, the whole plan of a Hellenic island-empire had vanished into air, the entire island was reduced under Persian supremacy, and, after having restored tranquillity to the sea of Cyprus and revived the intercourse with Phœnicia, which was a necessity to them, the Persians were now able to employ all their forces against Ionia.

Military operations of the Persians.

In Asia Minor Sardes became the head-quarters of the Ionian war, under the resolute guidance of Artaphernes. Three divisions of the army were formed. One was retained in his own vicinity by Artaphernes for the protection of Sardes, and to enable him at the right moment to strike the final and decisive blow against the leading cities. Two lesser divisions, under Daurises and Hymeas, were appointed to execute rapid movements upon the threatened places on the coasts of the empire. Now, the most vulnerable part of Asia Minor was the north-west, because here imminent danger existed of the Scythians making common cause with the Ionians. Accordingly Daurises, with surprising rapidity, reached the Hellespont, and in a few days had taken Dardanus, Abydus, and Lampsacus: by the king's command the towns were sacked, their citizens carried off, and their vessels destroyed. The whole Asiatic side of the sound was covered with the smoking ruins of cities.

While Hymeas invaded Æolis from the Propontis, in order to subject the Trojan peninsula, Daurises hurried to the south, where the Ionians had succeeded in rousing to revolt the Carian mountaineers. Here were fought the most serious battles of the whole revolt. Though the Carians were defeated where the

Marsyas flows into the Mæander, they passed out of the valley of the Marsyas towards the mountain of Latmos, at whose southern declivity they gathered round their national sanctuary at Labranda, and succeeded in surprising and annihilating Daurises with his whole army in the mountain country. Yet these and similar minor victories were merely isolated successes, while the Persians continued to push forward fresh hosts out of the interior. After the resistance had been broken in the north and south, the central and main army advanced from Sardes under Artaphernes and Otanes. Clazomenæ and Cyme were besieged, for the hearth of the revolt was to be gradually surrounded more and more closely, and finally cut off from the interior; but the sieges lasted for many months, and, weary of their slow progress, Artaphernes had returned to Sardes, where Histiæus arrived before him with the most recent orders of the Great King. CHAP. V.

Histiæus and Artaphernes.

At last, in the third year of the war, Histiæus had obtained his wish. He had succeeded in convincing Darius that he alone was the man capable of putting a speedy end to the revolt. He had insisted upon the fact that everything depended upon striking the decisive blow against Miletus before new assistance arrived from the other side of the sea; he had particularly directed the wrath of Darius against the Greeks dwelling beyond it. But to Artaphernes no man's presence was less welcome than that of Histiæus; and however much the latter might pretend his innocence while discussing with the king's lieutenant, at head-quarters in Sardes, the situation of affairs and the origin of the revolution, Artaphernes saw through him completely, and told him to his face, "It was thou who didst sew the shoe, and it is Aristagoras who wears it!" Histiæus could no longer maintain himself in the doubtful character which he played amongst embittered enemies; he longed to be once more all an Ionian, and to gather the revolted people

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around him. He escaped to Chios, which contained the greatest abundance of resources, and displayed the warmest enthusiasm for the national cause. By means of a variety of lies as to the designs of the Great King, he endeavoured to drag the Ionians, one and all, from their habitations into the interior, to increase the prevailing feeling of implacable hatred, and then quitted Chios for Miletus, in order to place himself at the head of the movement. A new act was to open.

State of affairs at Miletus.

Here, meanwhile, everything had changed. The conduct of affairs had long fallen out of the hands of Aristagoras, who had been obliged to recognise how much easier it is to excite an easily moveable community to revolt than to defend land and liberty in a lasting struggle against a powerful empire. Once more he stood before the assembly of the people; but these were different days from those of three years ago, when the son of Hegesander had been derided as a timid old man who was always fighting imaginary dangers. The question for debate was now none other than this: Whither are we to turn when the united armies march upon Miletus? Hecatæus had not deserted his countrymen. He was still the calmest man among the people, and now opposed himself to the torrent of despair, as he had once opposed that of premature rejoicing in liberty. His voice was raised against giving up the city of their fathers; he advised the citizens to turn their eyes to the neighbouring island of Leros, and to prepare it for a settlement. Thither let them emigrate in the worst event, in order to be able in favourable times to return to Miletus. But Aristagoras despaired of his cause: at the end of the revolt, as at its commencement, his thoughts were of himself alone; and as in all his actions he was really the mere imitator of his father-in-law, so he now wished in his own person to resume the ancient plans of Histiæus in Thrace. He deserted Ionia, upon which he had brought all this trouble, and sailed to the mouth of the Strymon, in order to establish himself as

Departure of Aristagoras.

dynast at Myrcinus. There he met with an inglorious death, while fighting against the Thracians.

Histiæus refused admittance.

After the departure of Aristagoras, Pythagoras stood at the head of the state, which resembled a turbulent camp, and was placed under martial law. It was at this moment that Histiæus arrived with a vehement demand for admittance, as if he still possessed a right to claim obedience at Miletus. Not a single voice welcomed the man of violence, whose mind was at variance with all, whom the Persians hated as a traitor and the Greeks suspected as the confidential friend of the king. He was refused admittance, and even driven away by force, and wounded, from the gates of the city where he had at last hoped to play a part which would satisfy the ambition consuming his soul. In violent wrath he hastened back to Chios; here again he was refused admittance. In Lesbos he succeeded, by means of false representations, in obtaining ships: with these he passed to Byzantium. No longer possessed of either a party or a home, Histiæus became a pirate, and levied black-mail upon the merchantmen at the inlet into the Pontus, while the Ionians were exerting their last efforts to save their liberty. For already the forces of Anterior Asia were slowly closing round Miletus; the troops from Cyprus descended from the south into the valley of the Mæander, the other divisions approached from Sardes and Æolis, and simultaneously all the naval forces available from Egypt, Cilicia, and Phœnicia pressed closer and closer round the mouth of the Mæander, eagerly awaiting, in anticipation of booty and revenge, the fall of the great seaport, where for centuries had been accumulating the treasures of all quarters of the earth.

The final struggle at Miletus.

The Ionian fleet.

In the wide bay of Miletus, opposite the city, lay a small island, called Lade. In its immediate vicinity gathered the mariners whom the federal council in the Panionium had assembled for the decisive struggle. Once more all the towns which had remained true to

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the cause exerted their last resources in order to keep Miletus open on the sea-side, and to defend the common sanctuary of Apollo. Miletus herself furnished eighty ships, which occupied the right wing; Chios with a hundred vessels formed the centre; on the left lay the Samians with sixty ships; Lesbos furnishing seventy, Teos seventeen, Priene twelve, Erythræ eight, Phocæa and Myus three each. It was a mixed gathering of mariners, all familiar with the sea, and well adapted for isolated enterprises, but devoid of coherence, training, or discipline; for the announcement of the liberation of Ionia had only served as a signal for the crews of the fleet to rid themselves of their Persian masters, who kept so strict a discipline over them. But most perceptible of all was the defective knowledge of naval tactics and the want of an energetic leader. The right man for that post existed indeed in the person of Dionysius of Phocæa. He possessed in full measure that heroism which distinguished his native city above all her neighbours; he knew what was required to be done. Hence, when vacillatory fears came upon the light-minded mariners at the approach of the hosts of the foe, he promised to save their cause if they would follow him. Finding them willing, he established a daily practice of rowing in exact time, turning the vessels with rapidity, and executing sudden onsets. For eight days Lade was the centre of a warlike naval station; but at the end of these eight days the endurance of the crews was at an end. "What have we done," thus the mariners lamented, "to offend the gods, that all should perform this penance in obedience to the despotic perversity of a Phocæan captain who has joined us with just three ships?" All was in vain. The sailors again stretched their listless limbs on the shore, and the fatal day drew near.

The battle of Lade.

A variety of messengers now arrived from the hostile camp, where the ex-Tyrants busied themselves in negotiations with the contingents of their particular towns, to whom they made advantageous promises in

the case of their return. By this means the last power of resistance on the part of the Ionians was broken. First of all the Samians lent a willing ear to the promises of Æaces. With the exception of eleven ships, they deserted their position. Their example was followed by the Lesbians and most of the other states: two-thirds of the fleet had dispersed when at last the battle commenced. All the greater was the heroism displayed in the battle by those who had remained firm at Lade: noblest of all were the efforts of the citizens of Chios, who sank many hostile ships in the Milesian gulf, and not until their own galleys threatened to sink sailed to Mycale, with the intention of passing thence along the coast to their homes. A fresh calamity awaited them: in the territory of Ephesus, whose inhabitants took no interest in the whole war of liberation, they were fallen upon as pirates and cut down in a nocturnal fight. Dionysius, the bold naval hero, had conquered three vessels in addition to his own three, and passed with his squadron into the western sea, there to wage war as a Greek freebooter upon Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians. The same route was taken by the eleven Samian ships, at the invitation of Scythes, who on the Sicilian sound in Zancle had made himself master of the town, and desired to find Hellenes well acquainted with the seas, in order with their assistance to found a new settlement on the north coast of Sicily. The Samians put in at Locri, where Anaxilas reigned, the insidious adversary of Scythes. Anaxilas persuaded them, instead of submitting to the wearisome labour of a new settlement as instruments of the Tyrant, to occupy Zancle itself, Scythes himself happening to be absent with his troops on an undertaking against the Siceli. Scythes, betrayed by all his allies, had suddenly become a homeless wanderer; in which capacity he repaired to King Darius, who knew how to appreciate his value, and bestowed the island of Cos upon him as a fief.

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Fall of Miletus.

Ol. 71 circ. (B.C. 496.)

Thus, before and after the battle, the last fleet which Ionia was able to assemble had been scattered to the winds. Miletus was left without any protection: but her citizens refused to capitulate, knowing well that no mercy would be shown to the city. Miletus was surrounded by overwhelming forces on land and sea; the walls had to be overthrown by means of machines, and the town to be taken by storm. The Persians had at last found an opportunity of wreaking their full vengeance on the Ionians. In retaliation for the burning of Sardes the town was reduced to ashes, all the citizens capable of bearing arms were put to death, the rest dragged off into the interior and settled at the mouth of the Tigris. The territory of the city remained a crown domain, and the citadel a Persian fortress: the territory in the mountains was given to the Carians, from whom the ancestors of the Milesians had formerly seized it by force of arms.

The sanctuary of Apollo at Didymi fell a prey to the flames, after the Persians had compensated themselves out of its treasures, as Hecatæus had prophesied. The existence of Miletus was at an end. The whole region round about underwent a change. In course of time the Mæander filled the deserted harbour with mud, and in the place of the sea, where formerly vessels had met bearing the wares of the Nile, the Black Sea, and Italy, at the present day spreads a monotonous pasture-land, out of the midst of which rises a low elevation—the sepulchral mound of Miletus—the island of Lade. Between this elevation and the spot where once stood Miletus the Mæander lazily rolls his waters to the sea.

The fate of Ionia.

Immediately after the fall of Miletus, the land forces completed the subjection of Caria; the Phœnicians repaired their damaged vessels, and then sailed in triumph through the sea of Ionia, now utterly devoid of fleets, the sea out of which their power had been driven for centuries. In the north, Histiæus was still carrying on his ravages: he fell upon the Chians

in order to revenge himself upon them; he next besieged Thasos, renewing his ancient plans of a Thracian dominion. Finally, he was captured on one of his raids and brought before the judgment-seat of his bitterest enemy. Artaphernes immediately ordered him to be crucified, while Darius, with touching fidelity, was eager to show gratitude and honour to the very head of Histiæus, which had been transmitted to him.

But Miletus was not the only sufferer in these days of awful retribution. The sorely-tried island of Chios, whose heroism at Lade had wiped out the stains upon her former history, the glorious island of Lesbos, and Tenedos, besides being reduced to the condition of subject territories, were most cruelly ill-treated and depopulated by a regular raid on the persons of their inhabitants. Their fairest youths were sent in herds to Susa for service as eunuchs; their fairest maidens were dragged away to the harems of the king and his grandees. Thus all Ionia sank for the third time into servitude. The lands were measured out and the tributes settled anew. The Tyrants were deposed whose ambition and treason had caused such unspeakable woe; the individual towns were, as far as regarded their public affairs, left to themselves. The soft skies of Ionia helped to heal the wounds of the population; the desolated places were rebuilt, towns like Ephesus continued to flourish in undisturbed prosperity; but the history of Ionia had closed for ever.

Expedition of Mardonius.

Ol. 71, 4. (B.C. 493.)

Meanwhile the Persian forces were considerably augmented; and to Mardonius, the son of Gobryas, one of the nearest relatives and friends of Darius (since he had received in marriage the hand of the king's daughter Artazostra), was confided the supreme command over the land and sea forces of Asia Minor. No thought seemed so obviously to suggest itself as that of advancing on the path already entered upon, westwards from the Hellespont through Thrace and

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Macedonia, in order without delay to punish the Athenians and Eretrians for their participation in the Ionian revolt. This retaliatory expedition appeared necessary before the revolt could be held to be finally annihilated.

Shipwreck of the Persian fleet off Athos.

On the present occasion Mount Athos protected the western Greeks. The storms of autumn and the cold of winter, which made their appearance at an unusually early date and with extraordinary violence in Ol. 70, 4, fixed a limit to the march of Mardonius in Thrace. For when, at the point where eighteen years before Megabazus had stopped, he wished to continue the conquest of the country, and for this purpose sent his fleet round Mount Athos, it suffered a terrible shipwreck, in which three hundred vessels perished, and the shores of the Strymonian bay were covered with innumerable Persian corpses. And as the land army at the same time suffered greatly from the hostilities of the Thracians and the rough and savage character of the country, Mardonius ventured upon no further advance; and this time the Athenians were spared.

Darius and the Athenians.

Yet for Athens also the burning of Miletus was a signal of warning, and the citizens had good reason for inflicting a penalty upon Phrynichus, when in the year after the battle of Lade he brought the fall of Miletus, as a stage play, before their eyes at the festival of Dionysus. It was a violation of the usage of Greek art to introduce the troubles of the present upon the stage. But more poignantly than this artistic error the Athenians felt the reproach of their own consciences, which reminded them that they were not innocent of the fall of their daughter-city, the queen of the sea. They were now themselves threatened with the fate of Miletus; they had become the immediate neighbours of the Persians. The latter, on the other hand, were the only nation of the East which had gained the sea-coast and subjected the Greeks without losing their own national independence or the power of fighting their own battles, as had been the case

with the Egyptians and Lydians. The hatred of the Persians against the Hellenes had been in the highest degree intensified by the Ionic revolt, as is proved by the fate of Miletus and Chios: at the same time they found themselves, by the conduct of the Ionians, more confirmed than ever in their traditionary notion, according to which the nations of the earth were the more weakly and inefficient in proportion as their habitations were distant from those of the Persians. They hated and despised the Ionians, and thought themselves justified in judging the Hellenes beyond the sea according to the same standard.

War against the Hellenes had become the policy of the Achæmenidæ, into which Darius was involuntarily drawn, notwithstanding his pacific character and the evident appreciation which he possessed for Greek mental eminence. It was he who made war from Egypt upon the Greeks in Libya, and who, soon after the Scythian expedition, caused the inhabitants of Barca to be transplanted into Bactria. Under his reign negotiations were already opened with the Carthaginians for the employment of their navy for an attack upon the Hellenes in Sicily and Lower Italy, where the Persian flag had been dishonoured. But first and foremost the participators in the Ionian revolt had brought his wrath upon them, and not in vain his servant repeated to him thrice at every meal, "Lord, remember the Athenians!"

BOOK THE THIRD.

FROM THE TERMINATION OF THE IONIAN REVOLT TO THE OUTBREAK OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

CHAPTER I.

THE WARS OF LIBERATION.

Objects and results of Mardonius' campaign.

THE shipwreck off Mount Athos could only for a brief space of time interrupt the great international struggle. The fleet had fallen a victim to the bad season; and as far as any share in the calamity was attributable to human agency, the blame fell upon the head of Mardonius. The unlimited confidence of the Great King had placed this man, while yet young and undistinguished by great deeds, in command of the naval forces of the empire, all former supreme commanders in the coast-lands being at the same time dismissed from their posts. Mardonius had begun by bold innovations; he had reversed the orders of Artaphernes, removed the despots who conducted the government in the towns under the supreme sovereignty of Persia, and restored to the popular assemblies the right of discussing public affairs. In Mardonius we recognise a man whose daring self-consciousness induced him to contemn the traditional prejudices of Persian statecraft, and who desired to prove himself a statesman of more independent judgment and of wider views. Nor would he, as far as concerned the ulterior conduct of the war, listen to any proposals of inflicting punishment on individual cities, or restoring individual families which had emigrated; his thoughts were intent upon nothing short of the whole of the western land, upon all Europe, with

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its flourishing cities; animated by a youthful ambition, he cherished the idea of ruling a Greek empire beyond the sea as the vicegerent of the Achæmenidæ; and it was for this reason that he had advanced with such impatience, in order that in the same year in which he had taken his departure out of the interior of Asia he might fix his winter-quarters in Northern Greece, and be able to report to his father-in-law the conquest of new territories on the further side of the sea.*

New plan of operations.

All these schemes had been wrecked at Athos. The king once more took into favour those who had advised against so vehement and apparently indefinite a manner of making war. Under the influence of the Pisistratidæ, who, accompanied by their old courtiers, were unwearied in their efforts both at Sardes and at Susa, a new plan of operations was devised, which was in the first instance directed against Central Greece alone. To punish Eretria and Athens was declared to be the first and unavoidable task calling for accomplishment; and its execution was thought to be favoured by a combination of circumstances. Central Greece was made up of a number of little states, none of which could possibly offer a successful resistance. Their affairs were all in an unsettled state; the most important cities were in enmity with one another, Athens with Sparta, Ægina and Thebes with Athens; and partisans of Persia might be reckoned upon in every community. For a march upon Athens the best guide was at hand in the person of Hippias, through whom the additional advantage presented itself of gaining his ancient party; nor would the Spartans object to seeing Hippias, whom they had formerly been unable themselves to restore, brought back to power by Persian troops, in order to bow down under his yoke as despot

* As to the character of Mardonius, cf. Herodot. vi. 43, where the liberal political ideas of Otanes are brought into connexion with the innovations of Mardonius. Similarly he is mentioned (vii. 6) as a friend of innovations, and the satrapy in Hellas as the goal of his ambition.—Cf. my observations on the vase of Darius, in Gerhard's *Archæologische Zeitung*, 1857, p. 111.

the obstinate city, whose perverse pride was increasing from year to year. Through the midst of the groups of defenceless islands it would be easy to penetrate by an easy and safe route into the heart of Greece; nor was it in the power of Athens by herself, with her fifty vessels of war, to prevent the landing of the Persians. CHAP. I.

After the calamitous result of Mardonius' campaign it was not difficult to obtain the sanction of the Great King to this new plan of operations. It was a plan which eschewed all designs of unbounded conquests, and confined itself within the most necessary limits. It was essentially a campaign against Attica, such as was demanded by the honour of the Achæmenidæ and the personal vows of the Great King. Accordingly new levies were ordered without delay, and the docks set to work along the whole coast-line. Special orders were given to construct transports for the purpose of carrying cavalry across. For Hippias had pointed out the weak side of the Attic forces of war, and the Pisistratidæ themselves had, as will be remembered, supported their despotic rule by the aid of foreign cavalry.

At the same time a careful watch was kept over the frontier-territories of the empire, and the jealousy of the Greek states against their neighbours was made use of for acquiring information as to all movements of a dangerous character, which were to be expected after the calamity which had befallen the Persians.

Punishment of the Thasians. *Ol.* lxxii. 1. (B.C. 491.)

Nor was this precaution a useless one. For in this very year, or at the beginning of the following, the citizens of Thasos were denounced, whom the surrounding cities had long regarded with eyes of jealousy. On this island about the time of King Gyges (Ol. xv.; 720 B.C.) emigrants from Paros had settled, and here after many sufferings and hard struggles founded a state which extended even to the mainland, overcame the savage Thracian tribes or drove them back, and found a source of inexhaustible wealth in the silver

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and gold mines which in ancient times had been opened by the Phœnicians. The mines of Thrace, and those of the island of Thasos itself, produced profits so extensive that the little state, without subjecting the landed property of its citizens to taxation, possessed a revenue which inclusively of the tolls and other dues amounted in good years to as much as three hundred talents (£73,000 *circ*). Even to this day the number of antique silver coins belonging to the island and its colonies clearly attests the ancient wealth of the Thasians and the wide extent of their commercial territory on the Thracian mainland.* Nor was there among them any lack of enterprising public spirit for employing their extraordinary resources for worthy purposes. Already, when Histiæus laid siege to the island (p. 189), they had built ships of war, and, after subsequently submitting to Mardonius, they now, when they had been witnesses of the calamity which had befallen the great Armada in their immediate vicinity, boldly resolved to renounce their allegiance to the Persian empire, and to establish an independent community. The jealousy of their neighbours frustrated this design; it was probably the Thracian coast-towns which, from motives of jealousy and fear for their own independence, betrayed the intentions of the Thasians, and called upon the Persians for aid, whose naval power was still sufficiently strong easily to disarm the unprepared islanders. They were forced to pull down their walls and give up their ships, which were taken to Abdera. The latter city became the base of the Persian power in the north of the Ægean, being admirably adapted by her situation to maintain, in connexion with the fortified positions on the Hellespont, the dominion of the Persians over the Thraco-Macedonian districts, which Mardonius had subjected anew, and to make available the ample

* As to the Thasian coins and their use on the mainland, cf. Perrot, *Mémoire sur l'Ile de Thasos*, p. 21, f.

treasures of metals in the country of the river Nestus; while at the other extremity of the sea, at the base of Mount Taurus, the new expedition against Hellas was in course of preparation.

The actual attack was preceded by pacific measures. Clever men in the confidence of the king were sent, accompanied by interpreters, to the Greek towns. They were commissioned to demand earth and water, the symbols of submission, making reference at the same time to the fleet which was to follow them. Among the islanders they found ready listeners in nearly every instance; for no choice was really left to the small states of the Archipelago, as they lay defenceless at the mercy of the hostile forces. Particular attention was directed to Ægina, whose importance the Pisistratidæ had pointed out. Situate closely opposite to the ports of Athens, this island-state might, in a pre-eminent degree, further the intentions of the Persians. Accordingly events leading to momentous consequences took place here in connexion with the arrival of the royal messengers.

Ægina as a maritime power.

The power and prosperity of the Æginetans were at their height, when in Ol. lxv. 2 (B.C. 519) they had defeated the Samian pirates (cf. p. 149) and occupied Cydonia, and returned laden with the rich booty of their victory from the Cretan sea. They were now the first naval power in the Archipelago. They had trading-places in Umbria and on the Black Sea; in Egypt they had established themselves as early as the times of Amasis; and their ship-owners, and among these particularly Sostratus, were accounted the richest merchants of the Greek world. They deemed no way of making money beneath them. Everywhere Æginetans were to be found, huckstering with utensils of bronze, vessels of earthenware, ointments, and other articles, which were produced on Ægina in large manufactories. In seasons of war they followed in the wake of the armies, in order here also to do business, and buy articles of booty at low

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prices from the inexperienced soldiers.* Freedom of intercourse was the fundamental condition of their prosperity; and accordingly their island was also celebrated for its hospitality, and open to every stranger. At the same time the higher tendencies of the Hellenic mind by no means fell into the background. On the island of the Æacidæ the Achæan love of song flourished; the practice of the gymnastic art kept up the ancestral vigour as well as the lofty spirit of the ancient families, as Pindar, the enthusiastic friend of Ægina, has sung of them. Nowhere were the founders in bronze better skilled in representing the victors in truthful fidelity to life; and, as a memorable testimony to Æginetan architecture, stand to this day on the range of hills on the island projecting towards Attica the remains of the Temple of Athene—doubtless the same temple on which the Æginetans hung up the beaks of the captured ships, when, after their victory over the Samians, they returned from the Cretan sea.

Disputes between Ægina and Athens.

They now asserted themselves with increasing audacity in the Saronic gulf, and their relations with Athens became more and more critical. The first hostilities with the latter city of which an account has reached us belong to the time of Pisistratus: a daughter of that Tyrant was captured by Æginetan privateers.† But this was a feud, not against the family of the Tyrant, but against the city of the Athenians, occasioned by the suspicions aroused by the increased building of ships in the Phalerus, and the connexions established by Athens beyond the sea with Delos, Naxos, and Sigeum. When accordingly, in consequence of the overthrow of the Tyrants, the Greek states separated into two parties, Ægina con-

* Cf. Herodot. ix. 80, who considers this the occasion whence the great wealth of the Æginetans took its origin. The usual reading in Herodot. iii. 59, on which are based the observations in the text as to the Temple of Athene on Ægina, has been objected to without sufficient reason in the *Neue Schweizerische Museum*, iii. 1863, p. 96.

† Polyæn. *Strateg.* v. 14.

cluded an intimate alliance with Thebes; and this alliance met with favour at Delphi. The governing families at Ægina were all the more naturally inclined to regard the popular government at Athens with hostile eyes, because a democratic party existed on the island itself under the leadership of Nicodromus, which secretly favoured the Athenians and opposed itself to the privileges of the families. Against Thebes Athens was able to guard her mountain-passes; but it was incomparably less easy to protect the long line of coast against the islanders from sudden attacks. On either side sufficient resources were wanting to end this mutual hostility by a decisive appeal to arms.

Thus the states of Central Greece confronted one another in a state of watchful enmity, when the messengers of King Darius arrived in Hellas. Is it wonderful that the national interests fell into the background before the party-views of the hostile states? Both Ægina and Thebes looked out for aid against Athens, which was closely united with Platææ and Corinth: and now the angriest and mightiest foe of the Athenians offered himself unasked as an ally, the same king whose assistance the Athenians had themselves not very long ago (vol. i. p. 392) claimed against their enemies—an ally who offered the greatest advantages without demanding any sacrifices in return. The Phœnico-Persian fleet commanded the sea. If the Æginetans were regarded as enemies, their ships were shut out from Asia Minor, from the Pontus, from Syria and from Egypt, and the over-populated island was threatened with the loss of its prosperity before the actual war and its troubles had broken out. These considerations were decisive; and notwithstanding their worship of the Panhellenic Zeus, notwithstanding the glorious memories of the pre-historic age, (when the Heroes of the race of Æacus, Telamon, and Achilles had been the champions of the Hellenes in their conflict with the Barbarians, as they had been represented by the Æginetan artists in the metopes of

Ægina offers homage to the king of Persia.

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the Temple of Athene,) the Æginetans did homage to the Persian king.

Alliance between Athens and Sparta.

Scarcely had the Athenians received trustworthy information of this resolution, when they hastily sent messengers to Sparta, to report the event and demand that joint measures should be taken in consequence of it. This was a step of extreme importance. For, after Athens had successfully rejected all interference in her affairs on the part of Sparta, after in the matter of the Ionic revolt she had pursued a line of policy entirely her own and independent, there existed in Greece two leading states whose relation to one another was regulated by no agreement or legal pact. At the present moment Athens found it necessary to approach Sparta on friendly terms, and to effect a union which was capable of attaining to a national significance. Athens made concessions in order to attain to her end. She unconditionally recognised the position of Sparta as the federal capital, and, in order to make something besides her own danger the occasion for federal aid, she recalled the reminiscences of the ancient fraternal union existing between all the Hellenes, and of the obligations arising out of it. Athens accordingly indicted the Æginetans of treason against the common country, and called upon the Spartans for an immediate act of chastisement, in the name of the whole Hellenic body, upon the seceding states, in order to prevent further secession. This embassy was, therefore, the beginning of a national union against the Persians, and against all civic communities in Hellas entertaining sentiments in their favour.

Cleomenes and Demaratus.

Cleomenes was still king at Sparta (vol. i. p. 376)—a king who, notwithstanding all his mistakes and mishaps, was possessed of more personal influence than was in general conceded to the Heraclidæ. For his ambition a war against the Persians in which the Greek forces were commanded by a Spartan king naturally opened up the most brilliant prospect. Nor

were these the first ideas of the kind which had presented themselves to him. For when the Scythian envoys sought assistance against Darius at Sparta, he had, as they sat at the banquet together, agreed with them upon the boldest strategical plans. To extend the dominion of Sparta over Central Greece had long been his passionate ambition. Now the Athenians themselves met the Spartans half-way. It cannot accordingly be doubted but that the Athenian envoys met with every possible support from Cleomenes. His personality made it easy for them to obtain what was of supreme and primary importance to them, viz. to force Sparta into a decided party-position, from which it was impossible for her afterwards to recede. At Sparta as well as at Athens the messengers of the Great King were put to death—a proceeding which it is difficult to explain, except on the assumption that attempts on their part were discovered at corrupting the citizens. However decisively the moderate party opposed the daring measures of Cleomenes—at their head Demaratus, the son of Aristo, of the house of the Proclidæ, the colleague of Cleomenes, and his open adversary—yet, supported by a powerful party, Cleomenes' views proved victorious. He had acquired new military glory in Argos (vol. i. p. 376); he had successfully overcome all the cavils of his adversaries which followed upon this campaign; and he naturally regarded the humiliation of the Æginetans, whom fear alone had induced to serve against Argos, as the natural consummation of his last warlike achievements.

Cleomenes repaired to Ægina in person, confiding in the impression his personality and dignity would create. But the Æginetans were sufficiently astute to decline entering into the real question at issue. They questioned his authority for acting, and, being well acquainted with the dissensions prevailing at Sparta, they demanded the presence of both kings in a mission of such importance. Cleomenes was momentarily without the power necessary for taking sum-

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mary action. He returned home, but with the firm determination of carrying through his will at any price: and for this purpose the fall of his colleague was the necessary condition. He accordingly combined with Leotychides, the relative and bitterest enemy of Demaratus; and they succeeded in representing the right of the latter to the throne as doubtful. The Delphic priesthood was gained over by the gold of Cleomenes; the Pythia declared Demaratus a bastard son of Aristo, and he was deposed. Though the people, who remained attached to him, had elected him to a public office, this prince, with the injury he had suffered rankling in his heart, secretly quitted his native city, and as a fugitive, pursued by the authorities, fled through Elis to Zacynthus, and thence to Asia into the enemy's camp. Meanwhile in Sparta his place was occupied by Leotychides, the head of the younger branch of the Proclidæ.

Flight of Demaratus.

Ol. lxxii. 1 *or* 2. (B.C. 492-1.)

Fall of Cleomenes.

Cleomenes fancied himself arrived at the goal of his desires, for his new colleague was of course ready in all matters to follow his lead. He returned in triumph accompanied by Leotychides, among the Æginetans, in order to chastise them for their secession in the name of the head of the Peloponnesian confederation. Ten members of the wealthiest and noblest families were taken as hostages, and, instead of being brought to Sparta, entrusted to the care of the Athenians. This was a new act of arbitrary violence on the part of the king, and the keenest personal revenge which it was in his power to wreak upon the Æginetans. It was, however, only for a short time that he enjoyed the satisfaction which he had obtained, for it became known what means he had employed for his selfish ends. Cleomenes became a fugitive. He went to Thessaly, in order to stir up an agitation there, by means of which he sought to satisfy his ambition. We next find him in the midst of Arcadia. In the Aroanian mountains, where the waters of the Styx drip down from a precipitous wall

of rock, near Nonacris, a sacred place of federal meetings, he convoked the heads of the neighbouring communities, represented to them the indignity of their position towards the Spartans, and endeavoured to form a party here, in order to avenge himself upon his own native city. In Sparta these intrigues excited extreme anxiety; for, after the open rupture with Persia, nothing more dangerous could happen than the secession of the Arcadian cantons. Accordingly we find Cleomenes recalled and reinstated in all his honours: but as what manner of man does he return home? Brutalised by his restless wanderings, distracted by evil passions and the torments of an unsatisfied ambition, burdened with the load of his guilt, and spiritually and physically ruined by sensual excesses. This state of mind ended in raving madness. It was necessary to bind the Spartan king, and set his own helots as guards over him, till at last he died the most awful of deaths from his own hand.

Such is Herodotus' narrative of the end of this remarkable man, whose naturally grand character had degenerated into criminal selfishness and indomitable ferocity. No doubt was cast on the circumstances of his death, in which all recognised the working of a divine judgment. The cause of the latter the Athenians found in the desolation of the domain of the temple at Eleusis, of which Cleomenes had been guilty during his campaign in Attica; the Argives assigned as its reason the slaughter of their countrymen who had fled under the protection of Here; while the majority of Hellenes thought the bribing of the Pythia his greatest sin and the real cause of the divine judgment which filled the whole Greek world with horror.

After the death of Cleomenes Sparta endeavoured to return to a gentler course, and to make up for the violent measures of Cleomenes by conciliatory measures. The wrong done to the Æginetans was openly acknowledged. The Spartan king, Leotychides

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himself, as a participator in the guilt of Cleomenes, was delivered up to them. The Æginetans sent him to Athens, in order through him to obtain the return of the hostages; but the Athenians were careful not to listen to this notion, or good-humouredly to sacrifice the advantage which a rare accident had played into their hands. As long as the Athenians had in their power the men of Ægina, who were at the same time the leaders of the Median party, the Æginetans were hindered in the pursuance of their political measures, and unable to support the enemies of Athens as openly and vigorously as the latter had doubtless expected.*

Expedition of Datis and Artaphernes.

Ol. lxxii. 3. (B.C. 490.)

Meanwhile the armaments of the Persians, which had been carried on with great energy during the year Ol. lxxii. 2 (B.C. 491), were complete. Six hundred triremes assembled on the Cicilian coast, and the large vessels of transport were ready to receive men and horse. Artaphernes, the son of the satrap at Sardes, who had collected a considerable armed force in Asia Minor, and Datis the Mede, who had done the same in the upper provinces, received the joint supreme command. Datis was the elder and the superior in rank of the pair. After they had received the final orders of the Great King at Susa, which enjoined them above all to take measures for the castigation of Eretria and Athens, to subject the recalcitrant island states, and to reinstate the Pisistratidæ, they set sail in the spring of Ol. lxxii. 2 (B.C. 490). As to the total numbers of the troops on board, the lowest estimate states them at 100,000 infantry and 10,000 horsemen.† Rowers and sailors might be employed as light-armed troops.

The fleet sailed from the bay of Issus in a westerly direction, and then along the coast of Caria and Ionia,

* See Note I. Appendix

† Herodotus is cautious enough to abstain from giving any numbers. The great difference between the statements of the other authors shows that no fixed tradition existed. The numbers given in the text are those of Cornelius Nepos in his Life of Miltiades, seemingly taken from Ephorus.

as if it were again about to steer towards the Hellespont. But in the offing of Samos it changed its course and sailed upon Naxos, the first object of vengeance: for the bold islanders had disdained to avert the evils of war by submission. The city with all its sanctuaries was burnt to the ground, and those of the inhabitants who had not taken refuge in the mountains were enslaved. After the first report of victory had been sent from here to Susa, the fleet continued its course, and anchored in the harbour of Delos. But here it no longer appeared in the character of a hostile force; on the contrary, a grand act of homage was performed to the divinities of the island, accompanied by a gorgeous sacrifice. All the world was to perceive that the Persian king had no thought of despoiling the Hellenic national divinities of their honours; the ancient festivals uniting the two shores were to be restored with new splendour. Thus the Persians signified their entrance into the sea of the Cyclades by two effective examples of severity and of mildness, while they at the same time took with them from all the surrounding islands vessels, crews, hostages, and supplies. They then sailed in the direction of the two towering summits of Mount Ocha on Eubœa. Carystus, situate at the immediate foot of the mountain, and with a harbour protected by banks of rock, had to be taken by force, in order that the fleet, without leaving any enemies in its rear, might enter the Euripus and approach its final goal.

Sack of Naxos.

The Persians at Delos

and on Eubœa

Eretria and Athens were united in an offensive and defensive alliance. The Eretrians had entrusted their treasures to the care of the Athenians, and the Attic citizens who dwelt in Chalcis (vol. i. p. 394) dwelt together with those of Eretria. But when, in the plain by the coast, the Persian forces unfolded themselves, all resistance in the open field seemed impossible. The Attic allies took their departure, while the citizens retired behind their fortifications. For six days the attempt to storm the walls was repeated in vain, and

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heaps of slain surrounded the brave city, when an easier mode of capture offered itself. The Persians found friends among the upper classes of the community. Treason opened the gates. And thus the second city also, which the commanders of the fleet had been enjoined to destroy, was, after a brief delay, converted into a heap of ruins, and its citizens reduced to slavery. Wherefore, the Persians might ask themselves, should they not meet with equal success in the case of the third city, whose shores lay close opposite?

The Persians quit Eubœa.

The Persians naturally enquired for the nearest point suitable for landing, and were by no means inclined to circumnavigate with their over-laden vessels the long and rocky coast-line of the Attic peninsula. On the opposite side there existed all requisite facilities for landing, and no danger, particularly for the unshipping of the cavalry. On the opposite side the Persians at last once more beheld fresh meadow-lands, where their horses might graze. On the other hand, it might have been urged as the more reasonable course to make an immediate advance upon Athens, in order that the first battle might decide the whole campaign. No one, however, appears to have thought of an open battle far away from Athens; and all further doubts were at an end when Hippias stated that the coast-plain opposite was the most favourable locality in the whole of Attica for the employment of cavalry. He declared that the army might thence advance by easy roads upon the capital, which roads would lie straight through the districts of the Diacrians, who from ancient times were well affected towards the house of Pisistratus (vol. i. p. 349); nor would an accession of forces and support of all kinds be wanting here, while the Athenians were cut off from receiving supplies from Eubœa. These considerations settled the question; the Persians quitted the smoking ruins of Eretria, and in a few hours crossed in calm water to the opposite shore of the channel, where the broad and

verdant plain of Marathon opened before them and received them in its circular bay. CHAP. I.

Athens and her statesmen.

Though country and coast had remained the same since Hippias' departure from Athens, she had herself meanwhile become another city. There no longer existed any Parali and Diacrians, as the son of Pisistratus imagined. During the years of the struggle for freedom, and of the ardent strife against the envious jealousy of the neighbouring states, city and country had been blended into one, and both had no other centre than the market-place and council-house of Athens. There was no lack of parties; but nowhere was the idea of betraying the common country allowed to make itself heard, since the tendencies of all the better kind of citizens united in the point of a high-hearted patriotism. Above all, no doubt existed as to what was *not* admissible, viz. any retrogression, any submission to the yoke of the foreigner, any unworthy concessions; all were ready for sacrifices and efforts, and felt that now more than ever was the time for united action, wherefore all were willing to put full confidence in the men who had proved themselves the best and foremost in public life. Happily for Athens, there was no lack of citizens who, at this period of imminent dangers, deserved the trust of their fellows.

Aristides.

In the last years of the Tyrants, as the ancient writers relate, two boys had grown up together, the sons of Lysimachus and of Neocles; both becoming, from an early period in their lives, by the great promise of their natural gifts, objects of a general attention, which was heightened by the circumstance that from year to year a more marked difference manifested itself between the two. The son of Lysimachus was Aristides.* He was distinguished by a lively sense of order and right, a tender conscience, a deep moral abhorrence of all illegal proceedings, and an inborn hatred against all untruth and dishonesty. His early manhood coincided with the

* See Note II. Appendix.

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Themistocles. Themistocles, the son of Neocles, was a few years younger than Aristides. By nature Themistocles possessed a passionate temperament, which rendered a peaceable and harmonious development impossible; his vehement and self-willed disposition resisted all guidance by other hands; his desires shot up untamed, and it was impossible to decide whether there was more to be hoped or to be feared from him. By the father's side he belonged to the old Attic race of the Lycomidæ; he was not, however, of pure Attic blood, but the son of a foreign mother, a Thracian or Carian, for which reason he was not permitted to take part in the exercises of the Athenian youth in the palæstræ of the Academy and the Lyceum. This blemish of birth, however, only contributed to intensify the spirit of pride in the boy, who was anxious to owe all the more to personal distinction. For this nature had qualified him by a rare combination of gifts, for in clearness of the reasoning powers, in vividness of intelligence, in rapidity and happiness of judgment, in wit and presence of mind, he was superior to all his fellows in age. Even as a boy he manifested a maturity of mind and a self-consciousness beyond his years; he had early accustomed himself to concentrate all his powers upon particular objects, and while the others were at play, he sought opportunities of treating questions happening to fall under discussion with the serious attention of a

forensic advocate and public speaker. In the matter of instruction he displayed small zeal for poetry and music, but all the greater interest in all the arts which promised him a personal influence over his fellow-citizens. Fully aware of his superior powers, he early habituated himself to asserting them with audacious self-consciousness, and undertakings of a nature to terrify all others by their difficulty only exercised a proportionately intense attraction upon his mind, inexhaustible in the suggestion of plans and the invention of schemes. CHAP. I.

New political parties at Athens.

Hetæries.

A vast theatre of action had been opened to the rising generation of Attica, to which Aristides and Themistocles belonged—a free field for labours in the public interest. For since there no longer existed any families possessing a hereditary right to dominion and political influence, it was necessary that the civic community of Athens should itself offer a supply of the men whom she needed in order to perform her lofty and difficult mission; men whose superior intelligence made clear to them the situation of affairs, and enabled them to establish the true points of view for carrying on the administration of the state, so as to perfect the structure of the constitution at home, and to secure the independence and power of the city abroad. Nor was there any lack of opportunities for attaining to personal distinction. Speech was free. Every Athenian might step forward among the assembled citizens in order to assert his opinion and obtain a sensible influence. Such an influence, at all events of a permanent kind, it was impossible even for the most gifted and eloquent individuals to acquire, as long as each remained single and unsupported. It was therefore necessary for them to combine with others whom they found ready to enter into their ideas. Thus associations were formed, at first of limited, then of wider numbers, the members of which undertook the obligation of representing particular political tendencies, of supporting one another by means of action on a common plan, and of guiding

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the counsels of the civic body. These were the political clubs or *Hetæries*, whose operations henceforth essentially determined the history of the state, after the ancient parties, based upon the differences of locality and habits of life, had lost their significance. Aristides entertained a natural dislike of such associations, because his whole character so strongly impelled him to act in every case with perfect purity and freedom from motives of his own; he was afraid of the conflict which might arise between his obligations towards his friends and the voice of his conscience. Themistocles was less timid; he was ready to adopt any means towards obtaining power. He devoted himself to the party whose motto was "War with Persia," the party which had formerly carried the motion for supporting Aristagoras, and which accounted it a national disgrace that Miletus had been left to her fate. But he recognised, more clearly than all the rest, that Athens was still far too weak for the important part which she was called upon to play; and that she above all needed two things—a navy and a port.

The foundation of the Piræeus.

According to an ancient tradition the bay of Phalerum, where the sea penetrates furthest into the plain, was regarded as the natural harbour of the country; this bay might be with ease overlooked from the heights of the city, and its broad roadstead was well adapted for peaceable traffic. But if Athens was to become a power holding sway over even as much as her own waters and their shores, these open roads were insufficient. Places were wanted where, in perfect security against any hostile attack, ships might be built and laid up,—harbour-ground which might be shut off on the side of the sea. Themistocles pointed out to the Athenians how this want had been anticipated by Nature herself.

To the west of the Phalerus juts out a peninsula, united with the mainland by an accretion of marshy ground. Its heart is the height, precipitous on every side, of Munychia, on the flat summit of which

stood an ancient sanctuary of Artemis. From this height the rocky ground stretches out into the sea, in the shape of a great jagged leaf; and forms three natural harbour-bays, accessible from without only through narrow inlets. Thus Nature herself had with incomparably greater completeness prepared for the Athenians the very requisite which the Corinthians, Samians, and Æginetans were forced to obtain for themselves by dint of much labour and at a vast expense, and which they moreover found it necessary to be constantly repairing: viz. a group of three closed harbours of war at the base of a commanding height, which offered a free view of the sea. The whole peninsula was called the Piræeus.*

To Themistocles belonged the merit of the first discovery of this natural formation, which every Athenian had daily before his eyes; in other words, of the recognition of its importance for Athens. But this was not enough. If the foundations of a naval power were to be laid, it was necessary to wall in the peninsula. Themistocles would have preferred to move all Athens to the Piræeus, transferring the Acropolis to the height of Munychia; but since this was impossible, it remained to found a new city, an Athens of the sea. This was an immense undertaking, but at the same time an indispensable one, if Athens was to become a naval power.

Archonship of Themistocles.

After Themistocles had familiarised the citizens with his ideas, he commenced operations in defiance of all obstacles. He became a candidate, for the year Ol. lxxi. 4 (B.C. 493), for the office of first archon, and, as the lot decided in his favour, employed his official position for the purpose of carrying his plan into execution. On his motion, the council and assembly of the citizens resolved upon the foundation of the port of Piræeus. It was the same year in which the friend and fellow-partisan of Themistocles, Phrynichus, brought the "Fall of Miletus" on the stage before the

Ol. lxxi. 4. (B.C. 493.)

* See Note III. Appendix.

CHAP. I. eyes of the Athenians (p. 190), in order to remind his fellow-citizens of the results of their cowardly irresolution. In the course of the same year the preparatory steps were taken towards the accomplishment of the enormous work; the measurings were effected, materials brought in, and the necessary supply of labour obtained.*

Ol. lxxii. (B.C. 491.) The work itself was commenced in the following year. In all probability the erection of new naval docks and the more active construction of ships were taken in hand at the same time; for within the next three years we find the numbers of the Attic squadron increased from fifty to seventy vessels. In Ol. lxxii. 2, a bronze figure of Hermes was erected in the market in memory of the foundation of the port and city, in order to mark the new epoch therewith commencing for Athens in a commercial and social point of view. But the further execution of the resolutions which belong to the important archonship of Themistocles was interrupted by the events which accompanied the new Persian armament, and which turned all thoughts towards the danger of the moment.†

In this matter Themistocles again decisively influenced the resolutions of the civic assembly. It was he who raised the national standard, and endeavoured to constitute what was in the first instance a purely Attic cause—that of the Hellenic nation. Accordingly he moved that the interpreter who accompanied the embassy of Darius should be sentenced to death, because he abused the language of the Hellenes for a treasonable purpose. For the same reason he was anxious to promote an approximation between Sparta and Athens; and the humiliation of the Æginetans who, at the moment when they intended with their vessels to desert to the enemy, found themselves fettered by their hostages at Athens, is doubtless

* As to Phrynichus and Themistocles, see Bernhardy, *Gesch. d. Gr. Poesie*, ii. 2 (1857), p. 17. As to the *πίναξ τῆς νίκης* dedicated by Themistocles, see Plutarch, *Themist.* c. 3.

† See Note IV. Appendix.

to be recognised as a result of his craft in negotiation; for the feeling of personal bitterness entertained by the hostages brought to Athens against Themistocles sufficiently proves that he must have been the main author of the accusation directed against their native city. Through him and his party Athens was made the head-quarters of the national resistance against the Persians; and as the latter advanced in the direction of Europe, the more the bravest and most ardent lovers of freedom hastened in increasing numbers from the threatened localities to Athens, and served to swell the resources of that city.*

Miltiades.

Among these arrivals there was none of superior importance to that of Miltiades, the son of Cimon, who after the overthrow of Ionia had been forced to take flight out of the Thracian Chersonese (p. 161). It was no easy task for him to establish a position at Athens. He had quitted his native city during the time of the Tyrants, and had accordingly not lived through the period of her internal development, in which Aristides and Themistocles had grown up into manhood; and he had now returned at an advanced age, like a stranger into the city which had undergone so vital a transformation. In him lived unbroken the ancient family pride of the Philaïdæ; he had arrived like a prince on ships of war of his own, with men-at-arms in his own service, with ample treasures, and as the husband of a Thracian princess. The reserved and severe bearing of a man who had been accustomed to almost unlimited rule for a period of twenty years could not but offend the sensitiveness of the Attic citizens. Moreover, certain rumours had come to Athens through Greeks who had lived on the Chersonnesus, which caused extreme dissatisfaction; and although he was anxious to accustom himself to the new relations in which he found himself, and to live

* Herod. viii. 92, 1, relates how, in the battle of Salamis, Polycritus, the son of Crius, who had been placed in the hands of the Athenians as a hostage (vi. 73), derisively called out to Themistocles: "Eh, Themistocles, so we are thorough Medizers at heart?"

CHAP. I. as a citizen among citizens, yet he could not escape from his adversaries, who were determined to prevent the house of the Philaïdæ from recovering its power. After he had with much difficulty saved his life, first from the Scythians and then from the Phœnicians, he was now involved in fresh dangers in his own native city, being called to account before the people for his despotic rule in Thrace.

Miltiades described the state of things existing in Thrace, in order to justify his conduct, and asserted the claims of his services to Athens. He had converted the fertile peninsula on the Hellespont, with its numerous towns, where his uncle and brother had held independent sway, out of a family domain into national property. From this basis he had at the time of the Ionian revolt conquered the large and important island of the Lemnians for Athens; he could point to the fact of his having first among all the Hellenes asserted himself as the open enemy of Darius, and of having already on the Danube brought the national enemy of the Hellenes to the brink of destruction (p. 162). The deeds of Miltiades offered so loud a testimony in his favour, that the people could not but appreciate his value. As yet, when in Greece the mere name of the Persians was mentioned, all men trembled. How could the Athenians consent to deprive themselves of the services of a man who was a commander of proved merit, who was well acquainted with the Persian army, and whose entire past constituted a guarantee against his ever entertaining any thoughts of negotiation either with the Pisistratidæ or with the Persians? Miltiades was acquitted; his enemies retired, and had even to witness how the civic assembly, at the elections of generals for the third year of the 72nd
Ol. lxxii. 3. Olympiad, which commenced with the new moon after the summer solstice on July 27th, 490 B.C., chose Miltiades as one of the ten generals of the city, together with Aristides.

Scarcely had the generals entered upon their office,

when the Attic citizens came across in their flight from Chalcis. In their rear glowed the light of the fires in Eretria: events approached their crisis. A messenger of state was despatched to Sparta, in order to call for speedy assistance, but the answer was not waited for. As early as the first days of the next month (end of August) the people, on the motion of its generals, resolved to order the levy of the citizens to march out. Of course it was impossible to leave the city utterly defenceless at such a time. Accordingly not more than 9,000 fully-armed citizens followed the generals; they were accompanied by their slaves, who served as their shield-bearers, and might take part in the battle as light-armed troops.* Without any settled plan of operations they marched towards the menaced side of the country; all further plans would have to be determined upon in the camp itself, and circumstances must decide the course of action. Miltiades had marched out to give battle, and in his eyes nothing seemed so dangerous as a retreat upon the city. The state of feeling in the army was excellent, and the levies of all the ten tribes were moved by *one* spirit. Not so the city people; and it was easy to anticipate, that the sufferings of a siege would give an opportunity of acquiring influence to a traitorous party at Athens, as they had in Eretria. Hence Miltiades was in favour of giving battle at Marathon. But even in the generals' tent the opinions were divided. Four voices supported, and five opposed Miltiades. As yet the deciding vote was wanting, that of the polemarch, *i.e.* of the third among the nine archons (vol. i. p. 310), who in earlier times had been the actual commander-in-chief, but at present only retained a vote in the council of war among the elected generals, together with the

Approach of the Persians.

March of the Athenians to Marathon.

The Council of War at Marathon.

* Nine hundred out of each tribe seems to be the most accurate statement. Cf. Suid. v. Ἱππίας. "Not quite ten thousand" (Paus. iv. 25, 5), and cf. x. 20, 2, where only 9,000 are taken as the number, including the old people and slaves. Cornelius Nepos, *Miltiad.*, reckons 10,000, inclusive of the Platæans. Cf. Bœckh, *Publ. Ec. of Ath.* i. 343 [Eng. Trans.]. Justin. ii. 9, reckons 10,000, exclusively of the Platæans.

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privilege of commanding the right wing, where had formerly been the place of the king. The polemarch of the present year was Callimachus of Aphidna, a brave and high-spirited man. At last his voice also was obtained in favour of giving battle: and now all recognised in Miltiades the man who was alone equal to the demands of the occasion: so that, on the motion of Aristides, all his colleagues resigned their claim to a participation in the supreme command, which was usually assumed by each in daily rotation. Thus Miltiades, who was accustomed to command, had now found his proper place, and one strong will guided the army. Slight expectation remained of extraneous help; but all the more welcome was the unexpected arrival of a thousand Platæans, who by this act of voluntary accession in the hour of the highest danger wished to prove themselves worthy of their association with Athens. (Vol. i. p. 392.)

Miltiades receives the continuous supreme command.

Miltiades surveyed the plain with the eye of an experienced commander. The locality was by no means so favourable to the Persians as it appeared. It is indeed a plain of considerable extent, which for a distance of full two hours' march stretches along the sea, in the direction from south to north-east, divided into two halves by a mountain-torrent, which rushes down the Pentelic range. The southern division is bounded by the spurs of Brilessus (Pentelicon), which jut out close upon the sea; and a broad road leads between sea and promontory straight towards the south, in the direction of Athens. This was the road along which Hippias intended to guide the Persians. The other half of the plain, falling off towards Athens, is surrounded by the rude mountain-ranges of the Diacria, which extend as far as the coast, and by means of a long promontory, Cynosura by name, enclose the circular bay of the harbour. The breadth of the champaign which had attracted the Persians is, however, partly deceptive in its appearance; for along its border, where the waters have no means of efflux, particularly

on the north-east side, stretch considerable tracts of morass, the green surface of which deceives the eye.

Athenian order of battle.

As to the choice of his position Miltiades could not be in doubt; it behoved him to cover the main road to Athens. He stood by the heights of the Pentelic range above the Heracleum, over whose sacred boundaries he kept guard, with a view commanding the plain in the whole extent of its length. He was thus able to watch every movement on the part of the enemy, being at the same time sufficiently protected against attacks by the rough base of the rocky heights, and by entrenchments which he had thrown up, and deriving the necessary supply of water from springs in the neighbourhood, which flow into the morasses near the Heracleum. For nine days the armies stood opposite one another without moving; the Athenians accustomed themselves to the aspect of the Persians, who for their part were confirmed in their opinion that the Attic levies merely intended to cover the pass on the coast, and who accordingly deemed themselves perfectly secure in their command of the plain and coast. On the morning of the seventeenth day of the month of Metagitnion (September 12th), when the supreme command according to the original order of succession fell to Miltiades, he ordered the army to draw itself up according to the ten tribes. The tribe of the Æantis, to which Callimachus belonged, occupied the first place, *i.e.* the extremity of the right wing which stood on the side of the sea; upon it followed the other nine in an order appointed by lot; at the extremity of the left wing stood the Platæans, who had joined the army from the direction of Cephisia. The front was drawn up in a line equal in length to the entire breadth of the hostile position, in order to avoid the danger of being outflanked, and to make the Attic force appear as large as possible in the eyes of the Persians. Miltiades strengthened both wings, with the intention of deciding the battle principally by these; while the centre, to which belonged the Leontis

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and Antiochis, was probably drawn up not more than three men deep, the slaves in some measure filling up the gaps.

The battle of Marathon. Sept. 12th. (B.C. 490.)

The troops had advanced with perfect steadiness across the trenches and palisadings of their camp, as they had doubtless already done on previous days. But as soon as they had approached the enemy within a distance of 5,000 feet they changed their march to a double-quick pace, which gradually rose to the rapidity of a charge, while at the same time they raised the war-cry with a loud voice. When the Persians saw these men rushing down from the heights, they thought they beheld madmen: they quickly placed themselves in order of battle, but before they had time for an orderly discharge of arrows the Athenians were upon them, ready in their excitement to begin a closer contest, man against man in hand-to-hand fight, which is decided by personal courage and gymnastic agility, by the momentum of heavy-armed warriors, and by the use of lance and sword. Thus the well-managed and bold attack of the Athenians had succeeded in bringing into play the whole capability of victory which belonged to the Athenians. Yet the result was not generally successful. The enemy's centre stood firm: here were massed the chosen troops of the army, the Persians and Sacæ; here the struggle was hottest and the danger supreme; nay, the thin ranks of the Attic citizens, in the midst of whom fought Aristides and Themistocles, as well as the slaves in their rear, were irresistibly driven back by the superior numbers of the enemy, far away from the coast into the interior of the plain. But meanwhile both wings had thrown themselves upon the enemy; and after they had effected a victorious advance, the one on the way to Rhamnus, the other towards the coast, Miltiades, who had foreseen this event, and who retained in his hands the entire guidance of the battle, issued orders at the right moment for the wings to return from the pursuit, and to make

a combined attack upon the Persian centre in its rear. Hereupon the rout speedily became general, and in their flight the troubles of the Persians increased; for, as Miltiades had foreseen, they had no place whither to retreat and where they might re-form in order; they were driven into the morasses and there slain in numbers. Better was the fortune of those who were able to reach the coast and to gain the ships by means of the gangways placed across. Already, during the hand-to-hand fight, the ships which anchored at a greater distance had been seen sailing away; but the nearer vessels also were so rapidly set afloat, and so efficiently defended by the bowmen, that the Greeks on rushing up to the shore were able to seize and capture not more than seven vessels there. In this struggle on the shore, which was carried on half on land and half in the water, with torches, swords, and fists, the bravest men fell in the van; among them Callimachus, to whom the immortal glory remained of having with his voice given the signal for the fight; and Cynægirus, the brother of Æschylus, who sank back into the sea from the deck of a ship which he was about to climb, his hand having been hewn off by an enemy.

Reviewing the meagre accounts of the battle of Marathon handed down to us by the ancients, we are particularly struck by two circumstances. Where was, we ask, that cavalry on which the Persians had from the outset of their armament founded their hopes of victory, and which would of itself have sufficed to frustrate Miltiades' entire plan of operations? In none of the accounts is the cavalry mentioned. The second circumstance which strikes us as strange is the rapidity with which the Persian troops gained the ships and put out to sea. It is incomprehensible how this operation could be commenced before the fighting was over, and how after the termination of the battle it could be carried out with such ease and success, unless we assume the ships of war, as well as the transports, to have been made ready for sailing

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before the beginning of the battle. These considerations incline me to think it probable that, before the expiration of the nine days, the Persians had relinquished the plan of forcing the coast-pass occupied and entrenched by Miltiades, and that on the tenth day the fleet was already manned, and the cavalry in particular already on board. Miltiades accordingly ordered an attack, when the Persian forces were divided and their most dangerous arm removed from the field of battle; and the troops which he charged were drawn up by the shore to cover the embarcation. This view will also explain why Miltiades carried out his attack at this precise point of time, instead of an earlier or later; for why should he have waited for the tenth, as the original day of *his* supreme command, after the rest of the generals had once resigned their rights in his favour?*

The Persians sail to the Phalerus.

The fleet sailed along the coast to Sunium. A shield is said to have been erected on Mount Pentelicus as a preconcerted signal for apprising the Persians that the time had now arrived for turning against Athens. This was a demonstration on the part of those Athenians who favoured the Persians, and who, after the march-out of the generals and the citizens under arms, had found easier means of advancing their views. The true state of the case never afterwards came to light. The Alcmæonidæ above all remained under the cloud of the reproach of having maintained a secret understanding with the national enemy. But, whoever were the authors of this shield-signal, it can scarcely have been delayed until the battle (which took place so unexpectedly and lasted for so short a time), but was rather in all probability given sooner, *i. e.* previously to the decisive contest; in which case we are justified in supposing this signal of the shield to have determined the Persians to place their troops on board the ships. On this supposition the traitors, against their will, helped Miltiades to carry out his successful attack.

* See Note V. Appendix.

No rest was permitted to the victors of Marathon after the hot fight. Aristides, whose integrity was above all doubt, was left behind on the field of battle with the members of his tribe, which had suffered the most considerable losses, for the purpose of guarding the spoil and attending to the dead. The rest of the troops were led back after a brief interval of repose, and on the evening of the day of the battle they once more encamped in the immediate vicinity of Athens, to the north-east of the city, near the high-lying gymnasium Cynosarges. When the Persians after a rapid voyage had reached the bay of Phalerus, they saw at daybreak the heroes of Marathon confronting them, and ready to resume the fight. What hereupon induced the Persians to desist from every attempt at landing it is difficult to guess. Possibly a main reason lay in the personality of Hippias.

The Persians decline to land.

Hippias had once more trodden his native soil, as an old man in the days of his decline. If he had so far adhered to the hope of a restoration of his dynasty, the day of Marathon had for ever put an end to all such dreams and thoroughly broken his spirit. The resignation of Hippias exhausted the instructions of the Persian commanders; they lacked the courage to act on their own authority, particularly as the party at Athens on whose support they had counted had been disheartened by the battle of Marathon. Under these circumstances it is explicable how the Persian commanders, without having suffered any real loss of strength (the numbers of their dead are stated at 6,400), resolved to return home before the advent of the autumnal season, and this time to rest content with the chastisement of Naxos and Eretria and the subjection of the Cyclades. The road to Athens was now open; and they might return any spring to complete the work they had begun.

Hippias.

The Spartans, who had promised to send aid as soon as the day of the full-moon should have passed on which their whole civic community had to be present at the sacrifice to Apollo Carneus, ar[illegible]

The Spartans arrive at Athens.

CHAP. I. Athens on the day after the battle. Instead of a city in danger and fear, they found a community rejoicing in its victory, and inspired with gratitude towards the gods, and with a lofty consciousness of its own capabilities. The Spartans marched out to Marathon, admired the great achievement of the Athenians on the spot where it had taken place, and then returned home. The admiration expressed by the Spartan warriors may have been honest and truly meant; but such was not the character of the subsequent policy of Sparta. The ancient jealousy had not been removed by the new alliance; for had the Spartans regarded the danger of the sister-city from an honourable and national point of view, they would not have made the Carnean festival a pretence for their delay; as little as in the case of an attack upon their own country they would on account of a festival have omitted to offer the most vigorous resistance in their power. Nor, after all, were more than 2,000 citizens sent, and these not under the command of a king. They were punished for their faithlessness by being excluded from the day most glorious for the Hellenic arms; so that for all times the Spartans had to resign to the Athenians, the Dorians to the Ionians, the glory of the first victory over the Persians.

Monuments of the victory. As soon as the time of tribulation was past, the Athenians in the first place hastened to fulfil their vows and honour the memory of their dead. Arranged in order according to their tribes, they were, 192 in number, buried on the ground where they had fallen for their country. Over their burial-places were erected the pillars on which their names were inscribed. A second sepulchral mound covered the Platæans who had fallen as the faithful allies of Athens, and the slaves who had taken part in the fight and become entitled by their martyrdom to the honours otherwise reserved for citizens. Near the graves was erected a monument of victory, the first of the kind on Greek [illegible] The battle-field became a sanctuary of the

country, and an annual sacrifice was established to the fallen, as to Heroic personages. Of the rich booty a tithe was dedicated to the gods who had given their aid: to Athene, Apollo, and Artemis. To Delphi also was vowed a consecrated gift, and to the god Pan, who had appeared to the Athenian messenger of state on his way to Sparta, was dedicated, in return for his proved friendship, a grotto on the declivity of the citadel; while, at the same time, an annual festival with a torch-race was instituted. The great festival of the victory itself was celebrated eighteen days after the battle in Agræ on the Ilissus, on a feast-day of Artemis, the sixth of the month of Boëdromion, which was also sacred to Apollo. It was from the war-cry during the charge that the latter derived his name of "Boëdromius;" and, according to the example of the victorious deity, the Athenians had thrown themselves at a run upon the hostile ranks. CHAP. I.

Miltiades at the height of his influence.

For the moment there were no bounds to the authority of Miltiades. He was aware of this authority, and he over-estimated it. He intended the day of Marathon to be for him nothing but the first instalment of a series of splendid military achievements; the unlimited powers of a general, which had fallen to him, he continued to claim for the future; and as he was by no means inclined to allow his schemes to be discussed by a public assembly of the people, he demanded that the vessels of war and pecuniary resources might be entrusted to him for whatever use he deemed best, in order that he might employ the first impression which the victory of Marathon had made both upon the Athenians and upon their enemies, for the purpose of new victories. The richest booty, he declared, would justify his demand. Such a system of secrecy was indeed thoroughly opposed to the spirit of the Attic policy. But the advantages of an unlimited tenure of the supreme command by one man had been recently felt; accordingly, the people gave way, and full of the proudest hopes saw the fleet of

CHAP. I. seventy ships put out to sea under the command of Miltiades. Unless the foolhardy march upon Sardes is taken into account, this was the first expedition of war directed from Hellas against the Great King; and as Miltiades had already at the bridge of the Danube asserted the liberation of Ionia to be the necessary object of a Hellenic war, the Athenians hoped soon to hear of brilliant successes and see the vessels return laden with spoil.

Siege of Paros. Instead of such results as these the news arrived that the fleet was lying inactive before Paros. Miltiades wished to levy forced contributions from the allies of the Great King; and in the first instance the wealthy Parians were to pay the penalty, for having furnished a trireme to the Persians and fought against Athens; they were to submit to her, and pay a heavy contribution towards the expenses of the war. But, trusting in the walls of their city, the Parians unexpectedly dared to refuse both demands, and thus placed Miltiades in the most unpleasant situation. For he was unprepared for a siege, but notwithstanding could not bring himself to decamp without having effected his object. Money and time were wasted; but his landings and desolating raids through the island were of no avail. At last, his passions rising to their height, he resorted to expedients of superstition. As the story was told at Paros, he endeavoured to introduce himself into the sanctuary of Demeter, the protecting goddess of the island, in order there, according to the instructions of a female attendant in the temple, to obtain a pledge of victory by means of secret sacrifices, or by carrying off the divine figure. But his scheme resulted in utter failure. Returning from the court of the temple, he took a false leap and injured himself; and thus the proud general was forced after twenty-six days to raise the siege and to return to Athens, sick, inglorious, and with empty ships.

Hereupon a tempest of attacks arose against him. His ancient opponents, whose jealousy had been

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Indictment of Miltiades;

heightened by the unheard-of honours paid to him after his victory, gathered against him anew. They were headed by the Alcmæonidæ and their adherents, upon whom so evil a suspicion had fallen after the battle of Marathon, and who now eagerly seized the opportunity of appearing as the champions of the people's cause. Their leader was Xanthippus, who was married to Agariste, a niece of Clisthenes. They found among the citizens a state of feeling highly favourable to their designs; for all the enthusiasm in favour of the victor of Marathon had turned to the contrary extreme; and he was now regarded as nothing but a self-seeking and arbitrary contemner of the laws of the state. The indignation against Miltiades increased when it was discovered that he had undertaken the unfortunate enterprise against Paros solely in order to avenge himself upon a personal enemy, Lysagoras, who had formerly slandered him in the case of the Persians. The day of judgment arrived. Xanthippus indicted Miltiades for practising a deception upon the people and abusing the public confidence. The civic assembly itself formed the court of judgment, before which Miltiades was arraigned. He was carried into the assembly on a couch, and was physically incapable of speaking a word in his defence. But neither the melancholy sight of the sick hero, nor the memory of the victory by which he had procured for the Athenians a totally new position in the Greek world, nor the speeches of his friends who further recalled the acquisition of Lemnos through his efforts, were able to produce a favourable effect. He was found guilty of the crime of which he was accused; and hereupon a second vote was to determine the nature of his punishment. The motion of his accuser was for death, and Miltiades would have ended by the hand of the executioner, had not the presiding member of the council by exerting his influence upon the voting succeeded in averting this extremity. The accused was, instead, sentenced to a pecuniary fine of fifty talents

his conviction,

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sentence,

(£12,190 *circ.*). His landed property in the Chersonnesus, together with a large proportion of his wealth, had fallen into the hands of the Persians. He was accordingly unable to pay the fine. Thus he was treated according to the rigour of the Attic laws as a public debtor, declared to have forfeited all his honours, and, in order to heighten his punishment, placed in personal arrest. Meanwhile his wound had gangrened;

and death.

and thus, wretched in body and soul, he died, leaving nothing but the heritage of a pecuniary debt to his son, which it was impossible for the latter to pay off, while on its settlement depended the restoration of the civil rights of the family.*

The end of Miltiades is a harsh dissonance in the holidays of Athens' first war of liberation. But if we desire to judge justly, we must remember how the Athenians rightly accounted the perversity of any one man's will as the worst foe of their commonwealth, in which the individual was to be nothing more than a servant of the whole body. To be a citizen in this sense was an idea incomprehensible to Miltiades; his guilt was undeniable; and, moreover, in his case the people was at the same time the offended party and the judge. No superior court of appeal existed, nor were there any legal means in his case of allowing mercy to temper justice.

The leading statesmen of Athens.

After the fall of the man who was immediately connected with the dynastic families of the earlier ages, and who had himself been a despot, those politicians now advanced into the foreground who had witnessed at Athens the developement of the constitutional state, and who themselves belonged to the new

Xanthippus.

era. One of these was Xanthippus, the son of Ariphron, and the chief accuser of Miltiades, who followed in the footsteps of his wife's uncle Clisthenes, as a champion of civic equality and liberty. But the most influential personage in the community was Aristides,

* See Note VI. Appendix.

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Aristides.

who, next to the victorious commander-in-chief, had the greatest share in the glories of Marathon. In the year after the battle he filled the office of first archon, an office which, as a sign of rare acknowledgment, was bestowed upon him, all other candidates besides himself withdrawing. (Vol. i. Appendix, p. 479.) Thus the accident of the lot was changed into the most honourable of elections. With a character at the same time mild and resolute, and immoveably true to itself, he stood in the midst of the agitated multitude, which looked up to him with absolute confidence. By his side Themistocles impatiently endeavoured to assert himself, whose influence had fallen into the background before recent events. The glory of Miltiades had further whetted the ambition of Themistocles, who now desired at any price to continue and accomplish his interrupted undertaking. For the successful defence against the first inroad of war had failed to disturb his convictions; and while the multitude indulged in satisfaction at the fortunate salvation of the city, and undertook pilgrimages to Marathon, to gaze upon the monuments of victory in course of erection there, Themistocles had already in his eyes the battle-fields of the future. He perceived that the Persians would return, and return with forces which would place all resistance in the open field out of the question. Even the walls surrounding Athens would be useless, when the whole territory was inundated by enemies. Only *one* theatre of action remained—the sea. By sea the Barbarians could never bring up more than limited numbers to battle; their best troops, the Persians, Medes, and Sacæ, were far less adapted to this mode of warfare; by sea they would be placed at the greatest disadvantage as against the Hellenes, who were accustomed to the element. A fleet, then, must be called into existence, but one not only sufficing for the defence of the coasts, but large enough to receive all the citizens on board. Accordingly the building of triremes, which had been commenced, must be resumed on quite another scale:

Themistocles;

his schemes for a navy.

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a fleet of two hundred ships of war was required, if Athens was to be made invincible.

But whence should the means be taken for enterprises of so vast a scope? A glance upon the poverty and narrow limits of Attica seemed to give a final answer to all plans of the kind. But Themistocles once more demonstrated to his fellow-citizens how everything depended merely on making the right use of existing resources, in order to be able to achieve great results.

The silver mines of Laurion.

The narrow part of the Attic peninsula, which projects furthest into the island-sea, is the hilly country of Laurion. Here rise no mountains of considerable size, such as those which surround the horizon of Athens, but low ridges of rock running out to the sea in parallel lines, sterile, and covered with nothing but sparse groups of pines. This hilly district concealed productive veins of silver, which stretched below the surface on a space of about seven square miles, and branched out as far as the islands fronting the peninsula. The working of these mines, which must have been begun at a very early date, was at this period being actively carried on. The hills had been entered by means of pits and galleries, while air-shafts supplied the deep-lying passages, in which thousands of slaves worked, with air. The whole was the property of the state; but the latter, instead of working the mines itself, in return for a suitable sum of purchase-money gave up the single districts or pits to enterprising capitalists, who, as hereditary tenants, undertook to work the mines, paying as a tax to the state about four per cent. on their annual profits. As since the fall of the Tyrants the state domains were again regarded as the property of the citizens, these might justly claim to enjoy the advantage of the net profits of the mines, as being the real proprietors of the state domains. And these profits they received in the following way. When after the settlement of the annual expenses of the state a considerable surplus of

ready money remained in the public exchequer, and it was not proposed to spend this sum for any other purposes of state, this surplus was distributed among the citizens.

It so happened that a considerable sum was at this very time about to be distributed, amounting to ten drachms per head. Themistocles appeared in the assembly, and moved that the distribution of the money derived from the mines should, by a popular vote, be once for all abolished. It was, he declared, an irrational and inexcusable waste of public resources, such as least of all befitted a state surrounded by enemies both far and near. Rather should every surplus form part of a war-fund, and all the money be employed for no other purpose than the construction of ships of war; for if the latter were never carried on except on the present scale, the most valuable years were wasted, without any real result being obtained.

In order to incline the citizens to submit to such a sacrifice on behalf of the commonwealth, Themistocles was obliged for the present to conceal his real plans; for had he at this time already spoken of the construction of a fleet which should be a match for the Perso-Phœnician naval power, he would have been derided as a madman. The great majority of the citizens were still unaccustomed to take into consideration any other than the immediate questions of the day, and were by no means inclined voluntarily to resign so convenient and constantly increasing an income as the revenue from the mines afforded, in consideration of dangers of war existing only in the head of Themistocles.

Fortunately other dangers and troubles existed which were manifest even to the most short-sighted, and could accordingly be made use of to give the necessary weight to the motion of Themistocles.

The hostages of the Æginetans had, as we have seen (p. 214), not been restored to their fellow-citizens in an

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Feud between Athens and Ægina.

amicable manner; the latter were accordingly obliged to attempt another fashion of recovery. They manned their privateers, and lay in wait for a good prize, for which the festivals celebrated on the Attic coasts offered the best opportunity. Thus they were actually enabled during the feast of Posidon on Sunium to capture the sacred ship of the Athenians, and to seize the persons of a number of the noblest citizens. By this proceeding their immediate object, the recovery of the hostages, was indeed realised. The feud itself was, however, not so speedily at an end, but broke out with redoubled vehemence, and became more and more envenomed and sanguinary. For the Athenians effected an understanding with the popular party on Ægina, in order to make themselves masters of the island by treachery; and at the same time they endeavoured to increase their small forces by aid from Corinth. But the Corinthians were unwilling to interfere in the feud as belligerents, and accordingly let out twenty ships of war to the Athenians at five drachms each. Thus the Athenians hastened with a fleet of seventy ships against Ægina, but after all came too late to take the city by surprise according to the preconcerted plan; too late also to save the members of their party, who, trusting to the arrival of the Athenians at the right moment, had risen against the ruling party of the nobles and occupied the old town. Seven hundred of these unhappy men were now dragged to death as traitors. Though the fleet of the islanders was hereupon defeated in battle, the Athenians were unable to prevent further losses on their part, and had to content themselves with giving shelter to those Æginetans who had saved themselves out of the blood-bath, among them Nicodromius, the leader of the Attic party, and to assign them a habitation in the neighbourhood of Sunium.

It is impossible to fix with accuracy which of the many and various events of this feud belong to the years before, and which to those after, the battle of

The appropriation of the silver revenues to a war fund.

Marathon. But so much is certain, that the feud was not at an end when Themistocles appeared before the civic assembly with his new bill on the subject of the mines, and that it was precisely by pointing to this intolerable state of things, to the insecurity of the seas and coasts of Attica herself, and to the insufficiency of the naval resources of Athens as against her nearest neighbours, that he induced the citizens to accept his motion, and to renounce the enjoyment of their income from the mines for the purpose of increasing the public forces of offence and defence. The enthusiasm prevailing among the people operated in his favour; it was universally felt that a new era had commenced, that Athens must become a great power, and that this was impossible without a readiness on the part of the citizens to sacrifice their private interests. Moreover, some unexpected booty had only recently been distributed, and the motion of Themistocles promised a variety of future gains and spoil to the poorer classes.

The assent given by the citizens was an event of decisive moment; it signified a further step towards the accomplishment of the work which Themistocles had begun by the construction of the Piræeus; it was the foundation-stone of the greatness of Athens.

The intentions of Themistocles were fixed upon a fleet of 200 ships. Yet it is scarcely probable that he from the first expressed this intention openly, nor was it possible, whatever exertions might be made, to proceed otherwise than step by step: probably a larger number of ships to be furnished annually was fixed by law; and the construction of the ships of war was entrusted to the wealthiest citizens, a talent (£243 15*s.*) being paid by the state by way of compensation for the hull of each ship, and the citizens being at the same time expected to come forward with patriotic generosity. As the necessary protection against any disturbance on the part of enemies had been already provided on the coast, the work itself could be entered upon without further delay. Timber

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was imported, additional docks constructed, and a new life filled the tranquil bays of the Piræeus. The general activity was heightened by the rivalry among the single citizens, and the poor were more easily induced to resign themselves to their pecuniary loss by seeing the rich spending their private wealth. At the same time the mines were worked with new energy. It was now accounted patriotic to be a proprietor of mines, since the silver which was obtained from them stood in a direct connexion with the growth of the city's power.*

Opposition of the moderate party to Themistocles.

Considering the influence which these resolutions and measures necessarily exerted on the entire public life of Athens, it is easy to understand why not all the citizens were in favour of them. The construction of so large a number of triremes suddenly created so great a demand for labour, that the native population proved insufficient. Accordingly ensued an influx of strangers on all sides; and of the natives many, on account of the superior profits, deserted their accustomed branches of labour. The rate of wages rose, life grew more expensive, a general agitation became perceptible, and painful doubts arose in many politicians of moderation, when they beheld the change which had come upon the whole condition of society. They cast their eyes upon Aristides.

Political views of Aristides.

No man could desire the greatness of his country more anxiously than he, but he was firmly convinced that the greatness of the state must rest upon the same foundation on which it had originally grown up under the protection of the gods. All attempts at shaking this foundation would meet with their due punishment; and it consisted, above all, in the efficiency of the people as husbandmen and in their attachment to their native soil. The construction of a navy such as Themistocles wished to create appeared to Aristides in the light of a doubt cast upon the protection of the national gods; it seemed an abandonment of the sacred soil of the land, a kind

* See Note VII. Appendix.

of half-flight. He stood aghast at the warning example of the cities of Ionia. At no previous time had the Ionians possessed a greater number of ships than they owned in the reign of Cyrus, and yet they had suffered a shameful fall, or become fugitives. Where were now the proud navies of Miletus and Chios? of what advantage had their moneys and vessels been to the Thasians? how transitory had been the glories of the Samos' rule of the sea! Aristides feared the influence of the one-sided tendency towards a maritime life and naval wars upon the morals and manners of the people; he feared that the valour of the heavy-armed citizens, hereditary landowners, which had been so gloriously proved at Marathon, would sink in estimation and importance by the side of the slavish labour of the oarsmen. Upon the latter would henceforth depend the safety of the state, and the influx of foreign adventurers would more and more dissolve and change the honourable and loyal spirit of those who constituted the heart of the civic body. If Athens were to become principally a maritime power, she would lose the ground from beneath her feet, and drift into enterprises without object or measure, and irreconcileable with a calm and rational economy and policy of state.

These, or such as these, were the points of view from which Aristides looked at public affairs. The natural difference between his character and that of Themistocles, which had manifested itself in their very boyhood, had now developed into a thorough contrast. It was a struggle between irreconcileable principles, between old and young Athens, between the conservative party and the party of progress. Unintentionally, Aristides had become the leader of the cautious among the citizens. He again proved himself free from ambition and selfishness. He gave evidence of his pure patriotism by withdrawing his own motions, as soon as the course of public discussion showed the protest of his adversaries to be well founded. But

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however conscientiously he endeavoured to abstain from any manifestation of mere party-spirit, the opposition between him and Themistocles daily assumed a more personal character. Since Aristides had once come to account his opponent's influence as pernicious, it behoved him to seek to break it by all the means in his power; and thus he came to oppose even unobjectionable and unquestionably salutary motions proposed by Themistocles, while he caused his own proposals to be brought before the people by other persons, lest his name should provoke the opposition of the other. In administrative matters, also, disputes are stated to have taken place, as Aristides, in his capacity of superintendent of the public revenues, animadverted upon the very smallest acts of dishonesty on the part of public officers with inflexible severity, and even dared to call to account his predecessors in office, Themistocles among them.*

Though the bold statesmanship of Themistocles found favour with the majority of the Attic citizens, and though his word was supreme in the popular assembly, he was unable to attain to an unconditional leadership of the citizens as long as Aristides threw the weight of his authority into the opposite scale. The citizens were too much accustomed to listen to Aristides, and to act upon his advice. He was to such a degree the man of public confidence, that, as his opponents in their annoyance averred, the public courts of judgment were by him rendered superfluous, since he, as chosen arbiter, settled the disputes among his fellow-citizens by peaceable mediation.

Thus at a season when the worst of dangers approached, and concord in action was demanded more imperatively than ever, the citizens were distracted hither and thither in two opposite directions. This state of things became intolerable, and under the influence of the party of Themistocles the citizens accordingly demanded the application of ostracism, in

* Cf. Plut. *Aristid.* 4.

order that a plain popular vote might finally determine which was the ruling party. The scaffoldings for the ten tribes were erected on the market-place; with unwonted eagerness the people flowed in from all parts of the land, and an undoubtedly true instinct determined the result of the decisive vote of the people. They recognised in Themistocles the man who was alone equal to his times, and able to accomplish the work he had begun; they felt the necessity of bestowing upon him their perfect confidence. The probable date of the banishment of Aristides is Ol. lxxiv. 1 or 2.

Ostracism of Aristides. Ol. lxxiv. 1 *or* 2. (B.C. 484 *or* 3.)

After much waiting, and long unwearying efforts, Themistocles had at last a free course before him, and could now, after so many interruptions and hindrances, carry through his work unopposed. The malcontents retired, his opponents had lost their leader, and the majority of the citizens gave themselves up with joyous hope to the guidance of this man of mighty mind, who could now prove that he was, indeed, no remarkable adept at singing and playing on the lyre, but that he understood how to make a great state out of a small. And how perceptible to all eyes was henceforth the growth of the state! In order to make up for lost time, all hands redoubled their exertions to produce one trireme after another in fit condition for battle. In order to place all the inventions in shipbuilding, which had been made in cities longer accustomed to naval affairs, at the command of Athens, the influx of foreign builders and artisans was facilitated by extending a variety of favours to them; and although the public resources were insufficient for continuing simultaneously the erection of the walls, yet an industrious population was already collecting within the enclosure which had begun to be carried round the city of the port, a population of aliens, who resided there under the protection of the state, and who gave a new impulse to all trades connected with the sea. Wealthy citizens, such as Clinias, emulated one another

Athens under the guidance of Themistocles.

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in building and equipping vessels of war for the state at their private cost. All the young men practised the management of oar and sail: it seemed as if the Athenians had for the first time become aware of their real mission, ever since Themistocles had pointed out to them the real significance, not only of the treasures of the land hidden in the depths of its mountains, but also of those which lay before them in the light of day, —the harbours of their nearest coast,—in order to convince them that nature had destined them for a maritime people, for a people that was to rule the seas. Even the national difficulties during the Æginetan war Themistocles had converted into a blessing, into the basis of a new progress of power. Nor can it be doubted that when Themistocles saw the Piræeus rising into prosperity, he already recognised the necessity of combining the upper and lower city by means of connecting walls into a great double fortress, in order to make Athens as inaccessible as an island to all land powers. But this was a task the accomplishment of which demanded a long series of years. The first and most important work which his wonderful energy had succeeded in accomplishing, a navy of two hundred triremes, was in existence when the tempest of the new war broke out, the inevitable danger of which Themistocles had already foreseen on the battle-field of Marathon.*

Darius' new plans for war.

Datis and Artaphernes, as may be assumed with certainty, had, on their return to Susa, done their best to represent the success of their expedition as after all considerable. They had brought back the fleet, upon the whole unhurt, out of waters previously entered by no Persian ships; they were able to enumerate several islands and cities which now did homage to the Achæmenidæ; the obstinacy of the Naxians and Carystians had met with its punishment, and the citizens of Eretria were led as captives before the

* See Note VIII. Appendix.

Great King; he was acknowledged by the islanders as the supreme lord of the Archipelago, and, trusting to his power, the Parians had victoriously withstood the Athenians. Yet Darius was, notwithstanding, unable to deceive himself as to the fact that the undertaking had resulted in a failure as to its principal object, and that this result was not, as on former occasions, owing to the wind and the weather, but to the valour of the same little community the punishment of which had been his leading object, and to the daring of a commander who had been the king's own subject, and who a few years previously had only with difficulty escaped his wrath. Accordingly, for the sake of his royal honour, Darius could not think of giving up his plan of war, even after the death of Hippias; nor could he sacrifice the island towns which had joined his kingdom to Athenian schemes of conquest. And even had he personally consented to acquiesce in the existing state of things, Atossa stood by his side and added constant fuel to his feelings of wrath and desires of vengeance.

The most natural and rational course of proceeding for the Persians would have been to supplement the forces by new levies, to maintain themselves in the newly-acquired maritime possessions, and to wear out the strength of the enemy from positions in his neighbourhood, before he could arm himself for an effective resistance. But we find nothing of the kind occur. The Persian fleet vanishes out of the Ægean, and a period of perfect calm ensues. To explain this, we must assume that the king visited with his discontent not only the leaders of the last expedition, but also the plan of operations advocated by them. The earlier plan, which the vehemence of Mardonius had alone frustrated, was once more resumed. It seemed more in accordance with the dignity of the Achæmenidæ that they should refuse to content themselves with an expedition of vengeance against Athens, in which case the number of troops was limited by

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the number and size of the vessels; a levy of all the forces of the empire was to take place, so as by means of a combined military and naval armada to reduce to submission the whole of the western lands from north to south. This plan of war being eagerly adopted, it was not considered worth while to secure or pursue further the results of the last expedition; the Hellenes beyond the sea were calmly left to their fate, since it was held certain that all the preparations which they might make in the meantime must be too meagre to be worth taking into account as against the Persian armaments. Every unfortunate experience of the past was forgotten, and the full consciousness of the power of the empire indulged in; and yet this oscillation between utterly opposite plans of operation very clearly displayed the real weakness of the Persian government; it was a way of dealing with affairs which can only be explained by the existence of an opposition between two court parties, of whom one endeavours to destroy the work of the other.

The armaments in Asia.

Hereupon all Asia was moved in its length and breadth. The flower of the troops of all the subject nations was to be united into a body which made all idea of opposition impossible. For three years the armaments continued; and the sound of arms was heard from Ionia to the banks of the Indus. Already the vast bodies of troops were on the march to be massed together in Asia Minor; and before Athens had made any noteworthy advance towards forming a navy, the army of the Asiatic empire threatened to cross the Hellespont. Of a sudden, fortunately for Hellas, the eye of the king was turned to a totally different quarter. For, unexpectedly, the news arrived at Susa that Egypt was in a state of revolt; an event all the less anticipated, inasmuch as the government of Darius had dealt gently with this country after its subjection. Thus part of the military forces of the empire was demanded for another war. But the expedition against Hellas was not on that account to be

Ol. lxxiii. 3. (B.C. 487.)

discontinued; the twofold war was to proceed with double energy, and Darius intended to take the field in person. For this purpose, however, a vicegerent was required in the empire; a need which provoked a contest in the king's own palace, which brought heavy tribulation upon him in his advanced age, and once more delayed the execution of his warlike plans.

Disputes at the Persian court as to the succession.

The cause of this contest was the double marriage of the king. The daughter of Gobryas—to whom, it will be remembered, he owed his throne more than to any other person—had borne him Artobazanes and two other sons; by Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, he had four, of whom Xerxes was the eldest. The Medo-Persian law of state assigned the successorship to the first-born of the king; but Atossa maintained that her offspring alone were of the royal seed, and that the children of Darius' first marriage had no right to the throne. Then ensued a struggle for and against the unconditional authority of a princess who asserted that it was through herself that the younger dynasty had been made of the full blood-royal.

Death of Darius.

When at last the succession had been settled according to the wish of Atossa, and the expedition was to start, the king died, in the 65th year of his life and the 36th of his reign. He had raised the Persian empire from the lowest depths; he had extended its frontiers as far as the Indus and Jaxartes; he had advanced the Persian arms in the north as far as the Caucasus, in Africa as far as the Syrtes, and on the further side of the Hellespont as far as the Ister, and was near making the Pontus an inland lake of the Persian empire. In the empire, the frontiers of which he had thus enlarged, the same king had for the first time established a great connecting system; such as before his reign had prevailed in no Asiatic kingdom: his ships had explored the most distant seas; the wealth of three continents, the valour of the leading nations of Central Asia, the maritime knowledge of the Phœnicians, the versatile sagacity of the Babylo-

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nians, Egyptians, and Ionians, were at his command: and yet he was not permitted to enjoy the fame he had so well deserved; he had to die before Egypt had been reduced to submission, and before Hellas had been chastised. To the last he was tortured by disgust at the failure of all his favourite schemes, by the base ingratitude of his minions, by the struggle between the court parties and by the untamed ambition of his wife. A marked inconsistency pervades the whole course of his life: for while by nature he was anything rather than a conqueror, he found himself involved, against his will, in a constant succession of new and far-reaching campaigns; and it was reserved for him to begin the wars with the Greeks which were to prove the ruin of the Persian monarchy, although no Eastern prince ever displayed a stronger perception of Hellenic wisdom and a more thorough appreciation of true human culture. He had Greek artists to build and ornament his palaces, and is even said to have invited Heraclitus, the philosopher of Ephesus, to his court. But the loftier tone of mind which characterised him, and which claims our perfect respect, is attested above all by his generosity towards the captive Metiochus, the eldest son of Miltiades, upon whom he bestowed landed property, and by his kind treatment of the Eretrieans, whom he transplanted to Ardericca, in the land of the Cissians.*

Xerxes succeeds to the throne. *Ol.* lxxiii. 3. (B.C. 485.)

To him succeeded Xerxes, a man born in the purple, of great personal beauty and innate dignity of demeanour. It had not been his fate to pass through the same discipline as his father, who had raised himself to the throne by his own exertions. Xerxes had grown up among the luxuries of palace life; nor was it any love of war on his own part that

* Telephanes Phocæus in the *Officinæ Regum Xerxis atque Darii*, Plin. 34, 68. As to the supposed relations of Heraclitus to the Persian court, cf. Zeller, *Phil. d. Gr.* ii. 450; as to Metiochus, Herod. vi. 41; as to the Eretrieans, Herod. vi. 119. Cf. v. 13-15.

tempted him to quit the gardens of Susa. He had, however, a deep sense of the dignity of the empire, and was not willing to allow it to suffer in his hands. Moreover, he was impelled by the influence of his mother, whose influence was more dominant than ever in the palace; and by the ambition of individual commanders—particularly of Mardonius, who had yet by no means relinquished the favourite idea of his youth, the scheme of founding a Perso-Greek satrapy beyond the sea. CHAP. I. *His motives for war.*

Of course neither was there wanting on the present occasion also a strong opposite party, which asserted its views openly and resolutely. It was led by Artabanus, the brother of Darius, the same who had formerly raised his warning voice against the Scythian expedition. He was now again the head of the moderate party at court, which anticipated no good results from the campaign against the Greeks. For a long time the Great King was irresolute; but at last the war-party prevailed—the ambitious men, who declared it an intolerable disgrace to sit still, and who contrived to gain over the king by promising him an easy and brilliant success. They were supported by voices from Greece itself, which was represented at Susa by important personages: by the descendants of Pisistratus, and Onomacritus their learned courtier (vol. i. p. 371), who read out high-sounding oracles, in which the bridging of the Hellespont and the great deeds of the king were announced; by the ex-king Demaratus, who had already exerted his influence on the occasion of the dispute as to the succession between the sons of Darius, and who is said to have contributed to determine the result in favour of Xerxes; and finally by envoys of the Aleuadæ in Thessaly.

These Aleuadæ were a wealthy family of princes, who derived their pedigree from Heracles, like the kings of Sparta, and whose seat was on the Peneus. Under their influence Thessaly had received a common system of national institutions, particularly an organi- *The Aleuadæ in Thessaly, and their policy.*

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sation of its army. The Aleuadæ might now look upon themselves as the heads of the nation: they had quite recently extended their dominion into the vicinity of Thermopylæ, and are by Herodotus styled outright the kings of the country. In Larissa they held a brilliant court; they were distinguished by the multitude of their serfs, by the large number of their horses which had been victorious in the race, and by their vast possessions in flocks and herds. At the same time they were eager to gather round them the first intellectual capacities in Greece, who proclaimed their fame among all the Hellenes. Thus Simonides of Ceos, above all, sung the praises of the hospitable princes, Antiochus and Aleuas. Yet the Aleuadæ were not satisfied with all this good fortune; they after all remained merely one noble family among the rest, who felt themselves their equals by birth; and moreover popular movements manifested themselves in Thessaly in opposition to the influence hitherto exerted by the great families. These dangers determined the present policy of the Aleuadæ. Their ambition was directed to the acquisition of an unconditioned and hereditary sway over the country; and they therefore entered into negotiations with the Persians, in order with the help of the latter to carry out their schemes. Thus it came to pass that Thorax, the son of Aleuas and the friend of Pindar, was the first among all the Hellenes to offer voluntary homage to Xerxes: and he offered it in the name of the Thessalian people, though wholly unauthorised by the latter. He promised to afford all possible aid to the king if he would carry out the plans of Mardonius; and thus before Xerxes had taken a single step himself, he found the largest country of Greece prostrate at his feet.

The armaments resumed by Xerxes.

After, then, in the second year of Xerxes' reign, Egypt had been once more reduced to submission, the expedition against Hellas was immediately taken seriously in hand, and the armament begun by Darius

resumed on a larger scale—or, rather, in a totally different sense. For this was to be no ordinary campaign, but a triumphal procession, an exhibition of the inexhaustible resources of Asia. In vain more moderate men raised a voice of warning, pointing out how the strength of an army was only up to a certain point increased with its numbers, and how a measureless armament in the end endangered success. It was precisely the idea of the measureless in which Xerxes delighted; a host was to be assembled such as the world had never before beheld; and his plans, moreover, went far beyond the limits of Hellas. The chief attraction in the eyes of this vain prince was the prospect of finding himself as the fairest and noblest in the midst of so many thousands.

The armada of the Persian empire.

Accordingly the royal messengers posted from Susa in all directions, to the Danube and to the Indus, to the Jaxartes and to the upper valley of the Nile, along the shores of the Archipelago, the Pontus, the Arabian and Persian gulfs, of the Syrian and the Libyan seas. The manufactories of arms and the docks were at work; bridges, roads, and all means of internal intercommunication were provided; and levies were made in every part of the vast empire. For two years the armaments continued, and in the third commenced a movement of population, which brought together from the eastern frontiers of the world an endless variety of tribes differing widely from one another in language and in dress.

Habited in coats of cotton, and armed with arrows made of reeds, came the dwellers by the Indus, and entered the territory of the nations of Iran. The whole of Iran, in the widest sense of this territorial designation, stood under arms. In the first place the distant north-east, the countries in the rear of the empire, separated from the rest by broad desert tracts. Here the Bactrians descended from the declivities of the Hindukush, and in the valley of the Oxus united their forces, under the command of Hystaspes, the son

CHAP. I. of Darius and Atossa, with those of the Sacæ, who dwelt on the further side of the Jaxartes. From the lower territories of the Oxus and Jaxartes, from the banks of the lake of Aral, came the Chorasmians and the Sogdians, among whom Cyrus had built the uttermost fortress of the empire.

Next came the nations who dwelt nearer by, in the south and north, round the central land of Anterior Asia, the country of the Medes;—in the north the mighty mountain-tribes from the Caspian sea, the Hyrcanians, and their neighbours the Parthians, through whose mountain-passes the great highroad leads from the east; in the south the nations who dwelt on the borders of Iran, falling off towards Mesopotamia and down to the Erythræan sea, and who longed for war with double ardour, inasmuch as they stood at the head of the nations of Asia,—the flower of the vast host, the Cissians and Persians, who were armed, like the Medes, with bows and arrows and short daggers hanging on the right side of the belt, and with shields of wickerwork, and wore coats with long sleeves and unstiffened hats. The Persians were distinguished before all the rest of the troops as members of the ruling race; they glittered in gold, and were accompanied by their women and numerous servants, having their separate train assigned to them in the army. Susa, in the land of the Cissians, equidistant from the Hellespont, the mouth of the Indus, and the northernmost bend of the Jaxartes, was judiciously chosen as the centre of the entire armament. The Persians were followed from the east by the nations which form the middle link between Africa and Posterior Asia, the dusky tribes of Gedrosia, the islanders of the Persian sea, the Asiatic Æthiopians, armed like their neighbours the Indians: on their heads they wore the skins of the foreheads of horses, whose manes fluttered down from their helmets.

When the united tribes of Iran, Turan, and India descended the passes of the Zagreus, they found the

lands on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates in full armament. The cunningly formed helmets of bronze and the clubs footed with iron announced the troops of the ancient city of Ninive. From the south the land of Mesopotamia admitted the auxiliary troops from Arabia, which, although it paid no tribute, yet sent from its deserts dense swarms of bowmen. From the palm country of Africa arrived the Æthiopians, clad in panther and lion skins, and brandishing spears pointed with the horn of the antelope; and from the extreme west the Libyans, wearing leather jerkins and armed with spears of wood tempered in the fire.

From the Euphrates the hosts ascended in a north-westerly direction into the rocky highlands of Cappadocia. Here they were joined by the nations of Armenia and the savage tribes of the Caucasus from the one side, and from the other by the various tribes of Asia Minor; some of whom, such as the Paphlagonians, Cappadocians, and in particular the Phrygians, resembled the Armenian contingent in the style of their arms, while the others, whose home was further in the west, above all the Lydians, differed but slightly from Hellenic warriors.

Xerxes in winter-quarters at Sardes. *Ol.* lxxiv. 4. (B.C. 481.)

Critalla, in Cappadocia, was the gathering-place of the armada. Here Xerxes himself appeared, to place himself at the head of the troops, with the princes of his house, his suite, and his chosen bands. He led the march through Phrygia and Lydia to Sardes, where, in the autumn of Ol. lxxiv. 4, he went into winter-quarters. At this point he had reached the boundary of the Greek world; from it the vastness of his armament must necessarily become known to the nations on the further side of the sea: and it was accordingly hence that the messengers were despatched who demanded submission. The total numbers of the Asiatic army assembled here may, according to the account of Ctesias, be estimated at about 800,000 men; in addition to whom there was a cavalry force of 80,000 horse from Persia, Media, Cissia, India, Bactria, and

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Libya, a multitude of war-chariots drawn partly by horses and partly by Indian wild asses, and, finally, camels and their riders.

The fleets

The number of the ships corresponded to the vastness of the land armament. The flower of the fleet were the Phœnicians and Syrians; and vessels were also furnished by the Egyptians, the Cyprians, the nations dwelling on the coast of Asia Minor from Cilicia to Æolis and along the Pontus, as well as by the islanders: the total number of triremes, or three-deckers, amounting to 1,200. Taking into account the transports and vessels of smaller size, a fleet of from three to four thousand sail was assembled in the neighbourhood of Cyme and Phocæa. Every trireme was manned by 150 oarsmen, and carried, besides its own crew, a detachment of Persians, for the sake of additional security.

and magazines.

During these armaments and marches of troops on the mainland of Asia three kinds of measures on a grand scale were taken beyond the limits of that continent. The first of these was the establishment of magazines, which were indispensably required by the army, in order to be certain of sufficient supplies on the road. This precaution appeared particularly necessary on the Thracian coast, where the resources of the country and the goodwill of its inhabitants could be least securely counted upon. For this purpose a large number of Phœnician and Egyptian merchantmen was commissioned to transport to Thrace enormous supplies of flour and fodder which had been collected by royal orders in the valley of the Nile and in Asia. The largest depôt was in Leuce Acte on the Hellespont; and similar magazines were, in addition, established in Tyrodiza on the Propontis, at the mouth of the Hebrus near Doriscus, at the mouth of the Strymon near Eïon, and in Macedonia (probably on the banks of the river Axius).

In the second place, the Hellespont was bridged over, in order to conduct the army, dry-footed and

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secure, and in absolute independence of wind and weather; to the European shore, and, as it were, to bind the land on the other side to the ruling continent, as an outlying province of Asia. The bridge was thrown across, not near the castles of the Dardanelles, where the passage is usually effected at the present day, but higher up towards the Propontis, on the spot where the heights near Abydus were only seven stadia distant from the shore near Sestus (at the present day the distance across is greater at every point), and where on either side, even on the more precipitous rim of the European shore, roads available for the march of the troops lead through the valleys. A double bridge of boats was thrown across, in order that the vast hosts might effect their transit with increased speed and without any stoppage. At the same time the isthmus was cut through which combines the peninsula of Athos with the mainland, so as to guard the fleet against a recurrence of the calamity which had befallen Mardonius twelve years previously.

The bridges across the Hellespont.

The Isthmus of Athos cut.

When the three great preparatory works were successfully completed, and the news of this reached head-quarters, Xerxes gave immediate orders for the commencement of the march from Sardes. The greatest difficulties seemed now to have been removed. But before the march began, bad news arrived which destroyed the joyous confidence prevailing. A sudden tempest had swept the Hellespont, and in a few hours annihilated the bridges constructed with such unspeakable trouble. This news excited an ungovernable rage in the king: he would not hear of anything in the world being able to oppose his plans; in every failure he beheld a criminal act of revolt against his supreme power, and a crime to be punished with terrific severity. The engineers who had built the bridges were put to death; and even the elements were to pay the penalty of their perversity. At all events, it was generally reported among the Hellenes that he had caused the Hellespont to be scourged, and

The march to the Hellespont.

Destruction and reconstruction of the bridges.

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Hereupon other engineers were ordered to renew the bridges. The ropes which had been thrown from shore to shore had, as it was believed, been too weak. This time both kinds of rope were wound together—those of papyrus, manufactured by the Egyptians, and the stronger ropes of hemp, the work of Phœnician artisans. By means of large windlasses placed on either shore the ropes were thrown over the ships, which lay side by side in a double row, fastened by means of mighty anchors. The longer of these rows lay up towards the Propontis, and consisted of 360 vessels; the lower of 314. On the top of the ships was stretched a roadway of boards, converted into the semblance of a country highroad by means of earth stamped down upon it. Finally, walls of wood were erected on either side of the road, to prevent the animals as they crossed from shying at the sight of the water. Either bridge had in addition an opening through which, at all events, merchantmen of smaller size could sail—a device all the more necessary, inasmuch as it was intended to leave the bridge standing for a considerable space of time.

Thus, then, the gigantic work was completed for a second time, and with superior security and powers of endurance: but before the Great King could leave Asia, he was again befallen by mishaps; this time of a kind for which he could not make any human being responsible. Heavy storms blew down from Mount Ida, while the army was on its march through the Troad; and the Scamander, whose waters were drying up, offered a warning of the troubles threatening in ill-watered countries. At last the Hellespont was reached; and simultaneously the fleet was seen approaching from Ionia, and covering the sound with its sails.*

* See Note IX. Appendix.

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The army crosses the Hellespont.

After Xerxes, seated on a marble throne placed on a commanding eminence, had witnessed the races and sham-fights between his ships, he dismissed his uncle Artabanus, whom he had designated as the regent of his house and empire, and the march commenced which in seven days carried the peoples of Asia across to Europe. The fleet sailed down the Hellespont and rejoined the land-army near Doriscus in the wide valley of the Hebrus, where lay a fortress with a Persian garrison. Here, on the frontier of his dominions, Xerxes felt a craving once more to view himself in the mirror of all his glory. The ships were drawn on land, and a general numbering of the hosts took place. Hereupon army and fleet passed on by the side of one another as far as the mountain-range of Athos. The ships sailed slowly through the channel, and then circumnavigated the two other Chalcidian peninsulas, while the land-army advanced straight across the ridge of Chalcidice into the corner of the Thermæan gulf. In its innermost recess both divisions of the armada again met. The most dangerous part of the route had been successfully accomplished without a hostile attack having been experienced from the mountain-tribes. The immense cost of furnishing supplies had been readily undertaken by the towns on the coast, and at the halting-places assigned to them the forces had found abundance of corn and flour, fat cattle and fowls, houses and tents. Finally, the land-army had been considerably increased by the accession of Pæonians and Thracians, and the fleet by that of ships from the Thracian maritime towns.

Xerxes at Mount Olympus.

In the gulf of Thermæ the view opens on the hills of Greece. It was here too that Xerxes for the first time beheld in the land of the enemy a territory shut off by natural defences; he saw the mighty outlines of Olympus advancing against the sea, and barring the entrance into the districts to the south; and while roads were being levelled for his army in the upper mountains, his own curiosity moved him to hasten

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onward in advance on board a swift Sidonian ship, in order to look upon the pass of Tempe, where, between Olympus and Ossa, enclosed by vertical walls of rock, the Peneus winds his way as the sole outlet of the waters of the great inland country of Thessaly. Xerxes stood at the portal of Hellas. Here only a few weeks ago had been encamped 10,000 hoplites, full of ardour for the fight, and eager to withstand the invader on the threshold of the Amphictyonic land; now all was deserted, the pass open, the villages empty, the flocks and herds carried away. Where were the Hellenes? How were they prepared to receive the hosts which bore down upon them by land and by sea—the entire strength of Asia—which, moreover, the nearer it approached, pressed increasing numbers of Greeks into its service in order to overthrow Greece? For this time the Persian expedition was not directed against the Athenians alone, as it had been ten years ago, but against all the tribes and states of Hellas.

State of Greece at the time of the invasion of Xerxes.

In many respects it may be allowed that Greece was more capable than ever before of withstanding a hostile attack; for it is certain that the country has never been more populous, or the nation itself more vigorous, effective, and healthy, than at the commencement of the fifth century B.C. The extraordinary activity of colonisation during the last centuries had, instead of weakening the mother-country, brought to it prosperity and blessings in abundance. For this activity had tended to raise the nation's consciousness of its own strength to such a degree as to make it feel itself physically and mentally superior to all other nations, so that nowhere had it found an adversary who was its natural equal. All the strength and skill of the Greeks had been developed in their various modes of application, and they had found an opportunity of exercising their courage and presence of mind in the variety of new and difficult tasks per-

formed by them. Their connexion with their colonies, now rising into prosperity, had everywhere advanced the middle class, and opened a multitude of new resources for trade and manufacturing industry. The generally prevailing prosperity had supplied a numerous and vigorous race in the place of those who had emigrated. The mother-country was simply unable to exist without the colonies; for nothing but the importation of corn from the lands of the Pontus, from Africa, Sicily, and Italy, made it possible for so dense a population to inhabit the towns and rural districts.

The numbers of its population.

Argolis was the single country whose population had undergone a great diminution—since the loss of 6,000 warriors in her war with Sparta (vol. i. p. 376), Argolis lay in a state of impotent decline: nowhere else the land and its inhabitants had suffered any loss. Laconia numbered 8,000 Spartans; every Spartan could lead forth seven helots; and, moreover, Sparta possessed a vigorous and numerous class of free rural population, so that, without denuding herself of all her military forces, she could send 50,000 men-at-arms into the field. Arcadia was an extremely populous country, whose whole military force may be estimated at about 30,000. The sum-total of the inhabitants of the whole of Peloponnesus amounted to about two millions of inhabitants. Athens, according to the testimony of Herodotus, the accuracy of which there is no reason to suspect, numbered 30,000 citizens, and was able, in the course of the century which opened with the Persian wars, to furnish 13,000 heavy-armed and 16,000 garrison troops. The important strength of the country-towns of Bœotia is proved by the resistance which they were able to oppose to Thebes. For the population of the islands Naxos may serve as a standard (p. 171), and among the lesser islands Ceos, which on an entirely mountainous area of about nine square miles contained four towns, every one of which possessed a harbour, a legislation, and a coinage of its own.

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To this the most flourishing period of Greek population belongs the careful system of building at all possible points, the vestiges of which astonish the traveller to this day, when he beholds how once upon a time every little spot was put to its particular use, every difficulty of settlement and intercourse overcome, and every part of the country pervaded by human life and activity. On rocky crags, whence in the present day lonely herds of goats derive a scanty sustenance, are found the remains of towns, surrounded by strong walls and supplied with cisterns and aqueducts, while the surrounding heights are gradated off in artificial terraces up to their summit, for the purpose of obtaining space for the culture of corn and fruit-trees.*

Conditions of society.

But the number of towns and inhabitants is not the main question in treating of the defensive force of a nation; of superior importance is the vigour of the human race inhabiting town and country. The towns of the Greeks were not great cities, like the mercantile and royal cities of the East (vol. i. p. 466): and on this account they were preserved from a variety of evils which are inevitably generated in over-populated towns: no such harsh contrasts formed themselves between rich and poor, between luxury and want, either of which after its fashion enfeebles the population; among the Greeks the poor were not beggars, nor was the multitude a mob. Neither were the life of town and country so sharply opposed to one another, since in Greece the former was not the contrary of the latter. The conditions of society preserved a certain simplicity. The civic bodies were communities contained within moderate limits, in which every dereliction of traditional usage was, in consequence, far more easily remarked and animadverted upon: a common system of law gave coherence to the civic bodies; and law being regarded as the expression of a living community of will, it was no unfree submission

* See Note X. Appendix.

for the individual to subordinate himself under it, but each felt himself to be a member of the whole: and the publicity of political life was the healthy and bracing air in which the citizens grew up.

The slaves.

By the side of the civic society existed a slave-population of very considerable numbers in mercantile and manufacturing cities, such as Corinth and Ægina. Here its numbers must have amounted to as many as ten times those of the free inhabitants. Even in Attica they must be assumed to have preponderated over the freemen in a proportion of at least four to one.*

It might be thought that so large a number of oppressed human beings would have been of great advantage to the national enemy, especially in the event of the slaves finding their countrymen among the hostile troops, as was the case with the Phrygians, Syrians, and other Asiatic slaves. We meet, however, with no examples of traitors or runaways during the Persian wars. The slaves were too intimately connected with the civic community; there existed between them and the families an easy relation, which was fostered by a community of manners and religion. The slaves belonged to races far inferior to the Greeks in mental gifts, and, above all, possessed neither of inclination nor of capacity for the social life of a civic community. Hence, instead of their subordinate position wearing the aspect of oppression, the relation between masters and slaves was regarded as mutually advantageous and in accordance with nature. Nor was it possible to conceive of the existence of a Greek community without this basis.

The slaves performed all subordinate household duties; they tilled the land, attended to kitchen and cattle; they served their masters as handicraftsmen and labourers; and thus in every way contributed to the comfort of the lives of the citizens, without at the same time causing their masters to become lazy, effete,

* See Note XI. Appendix.

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and luxurious. From these evil effects of slavery the Greeks were preserved by the natural energy of their character, by the force of their manners and of their laws; for in all well-ordered states idleness and want of a fixed occupation were punished as crimes. On the other hand, the difference in natural gifts and cultivation, which was daily brought before their eyes, led the citizens to regard themselves as a privileged people, and one called by nature to dominion: and this consciousness essentially contributed to their proud and resolute bearing in the Persian wars. At the same time the position of a Greek citizen was kept in a loftier sphere by the rarity of such an occurrence as that of one citizen having to perform for another services sullying his dignity; so that the poorer among them, as well as the richer, could preserve leisure and inclination for public affairs and for mental culture. For the ancients regarded an independent position in life and abundance of leisure as necessary conditions for the developement of civic virtue.

Physical vigour of the people.

In the towns the public palæstras flourished; and whoever stayed away from these exercises was not allowed to claim influence and authority. The young men had learnt to accustom themselves to a regular schooling as to a second nature; they had learnt to redouble their strength when there was occasion for it, and to shrink from nothing more than from the suspicion of cowardice. Thus peace and prosperity had been unable to produce a relaxation of vigour in Hellas, such as they had called forth in Ionia. The palæstra had furnished the preliminary exercises for actual warfare; and poets, such as Simonides of Ceos and Pindar of Thebes, both of whom stood at the height of their influence at the period of the Persian expedition, not only attest the rich developement of the system of festive meetings, and of the art dedicated to these, but also bear witness to the heroic vigour which existed among their contemporaries, to the mental and physical vitality which descended from generation to

generation in the noble families, and to the lofty devotion with which the sacred festive games were performed.

Ideal unity of Greece.

These poets passed through the land as widely-honoured and richly-rewarded masters of their art, by virtue of which they stood in the centre of the whole people, and helped to combine in one spiritual union the multiplicity of communities and families. It was their duty to recall in their songs the common traditions of the pre-historic age, to glorify the common festivals of the Hellenes, and to exalt the fame of the victors, who belonged to the whole nation. In them the Hellenic character, as it were, found personal representatives. Thus we find Simonides occupying an influential position both in the mother-country and in the colonies, and establishing a connexion between circles the furthest removed from one another and reconciling their disputes. Still more imposing is this attitude of a mediator as it meets us in the person of Pindar. By birth a Theban, and with his whole heart devoted to his native city, he had learnt the higher branches of his art in Athens from Lasus (vol. i. p. 371); he had been initiated into the mysteries of Eleusis; he was peculiarly fond of taking part in the great national festivals; and Delphi, the religious centre of the land, was, in a manner, his second home. His descent from the Ægidæ, whose widespread family had an important share in the institution of the Spartan polity, and in the foundation of Thera and Cyrene (vol. i. pp. 184, 458), of itself caused him to regard Hellenic affairs from a loftier and wider point of view. Fond of travel like his ancestors, he passed through the cities of Hellas, and regarded it as the mission of his life to awaken the consciousness of a common nationality and of common usage in the inhabitants of regions far apart from one another. "Glorious Lacedæmon!" thus he sang in the days of his youth, before the Ionic revolt had occasioned all the war between Persia and Hellas,—"glorious

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"Lacedæmon! blessed Thessaly! for there rules in "both, sprung from one and the same sire, the house of "Heracles famed in the fight." Thus he avails himself of the treasures of ancient myths, to which his inventive mind is able to give fresh life and a new application, in order to unite Sparta with the dynasts of Thessaly, and in the same way to bring Thebes, Ægina, and the Arcadian towns into one grand national union.

Political discrepancies.

But apart from this ideal unity, the consciousness of which found its expression in the national poets and warmed the hearts of high-souled Hellenes, there existed no national combination capable of opposing any resistance sure of a permanent effect to the assaults of a hostile power at the call of a despotic will. Since the last generation the power of Delphi was broken (p. 92); the dominion of its priests had fallen without a struggle, because it rested on none but spiritual means of support, which had been gradually used up; there was no longer any truth in the saying which termed Delphi the centre of Greece. Meanwhile, neither had any new institution taken its place, but in the same degree as the ancient order of things common to all the states gave way, the single states had continued gradually to develope themselves. Each commonwealth formed a perfectly separate body as against the rest—so to speak, a domestic establishment by itself. The citizens of the neighbouring state were foreigners and strangers; matrimonial connexions between members of different states were legally invalid, unless special treaties had been concluded establishing a relation of the kind. In addition to this, border-disputes took place everywhere—quarrels as to the boundaries, as to the extension of sacred territories, as to the reception of fugitive slaves; and it was only in rare instances that the disputants deemed themselves obliged to seek a peaceable settlement by submitting to the decision of an arbitrator. Nowhere was there estab-

lished a universally recognised federal tribunal. Hence we find Herodotus, in describing the consultations of the Persian princes, whom Xerxes convoked before the commencement of the war, put into the mouth of Mardonius the question: how the Persian king could be afraid of a nation whose states, instead of settling their disputes by means of heralds and messengers, as was natural to men speaking the same tongue, in foolish haste flew to arms and inflicted heavy damages upon one another?*

The states themselves were of two kinds. They were either small communities — peasant-cantons, which lived a quiet and unobserved existence (as, *e.g.*, the cantoned associations of Arcadia), and never aspired to a policy of their own; or they were larger and more active states, which took part in the questions of the day and assumed a hostile attitude against one another in the assertion of their rival claims. Such was above all the mutual relation between the two principal states. Sparta continued as yet to occupy the first place. Her citizens were regarded as the first among the Hellenes in personal beauty and vigour, as the born leaders of the rest, and as masters of the art of war, who were thus justly entitled to deem themselves the superiors of the Greeks of Ionic descent; and, although the unfortunate and unworthy policy followed by Sparta during the last twenty years was but little adapted to call forth confidence and respect, yet the circumstances of the time were favourable to a continuance of her authority. For the universal terror inspired by the spread of the Persian power, and the growing feeling of general insecurity in the Greek world, caused Peloponnesus, on account of its natural strength, to be more than ever regarded as the citadel of Hellas. After all, the Spartan constitution and the Peloponnesian federation had proved themselves to be the most enduring of all the political institutions

Position occupied by Sparta

* Cf. Herod. vii. 9.

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created by the Hellenes. In Asia Minor, too, Sparta was looked upon as a powerful and well-ordered state; and when, after the fall of Sardes, the inhabitants of those countries came to feel less and less at their ease (p. 127), many had emigrated to the Peloponnesus, in order to escape the consequences of a violent revolution. Thus Bathycles had removed his school of art from Magnesia to Sparta (p. 67), and Ionian merchants in those days invested their money in Sparta. Herodotus tells of a rich Milesian who confided half his property to the Spartan Glaucus, after reflecting how uncertain and insecure all things were at home in Ionia, and how peace and safety appeared to prevail nowhere but in Peloponnesus.

her conduct.

Yet Sparta possessed neither the courage nor the strength to take advantage of this position of affairs, and, as the troubles of the Greek world increased, to represent its common interests as the capital city of the Hellenes. Not that there was any lack of ambitious longings. Before the Persian power had firmly established itself, the Spartans, we may remember, had actually been desirous of coming to the rescue of the Lydian king; but afterwards they even lacked the courage to assist the members of their own race, and twice refused to listen to the appeals of the Ionians for aid (pp. 124, 178). In Greece itself they firmly clung to their claims, but they were spending their principal without doing anything towards establishing new claims. They had not dared to receive Platææ into the federation of their allies, but had availed themselves of the application of the Platæans, as of every other opportunity, to provoke jealousies among the states to the north of the isthmus (vol. i. p. 391). Thus, what they could not attain to by their own strength, the weakness of others was to bring within their grasp; in so small a measure was Sparta possessed of the capacity and the desire of uniting the forces of the Greek nation. Her citizens indeed

formed an army beyond compare, but the vivifying spirit was absent; the state was at a loss how to employ the means at its service, and lazily and clumsily it continued to move in the accustomed path. From time to time indeed a spark of the heroic Achæan fire is kindled among the Heraclidæ of Sparta, and there appear in her royal house proofs of a lofty and enterprising spirit; but when it appeared, it was only to rise in wild and self-seeking revolt against the state itself, as is shown in the case of Cleomenes, or it degenerated into a purposeless search after adventure, as in the case of Dorieus, the younger brother of Cleomenes, to whom the relations of home became so intolerable that he went forth into the wide world, and attempted, first in Libya and afterwards in Sicily, to gain for himself a new empire.

Thus were wasted the few remnants of heroic fire; and while the Persians were approaching nearer and nearer, Sparta, after her selfish fashion, took thought of nothing beyond her private interests. She made war upon and devastated the territory of Argos; she continued to foster every dispute between the other states which promised advantage to herself; and, though she had bound herself to an alliance of war with Athens, she had purposely arrived too late at Marathon: for, in point of fact, Sparta's poverty as to ideas and plans of her own left her no other point of view than that of preventing the rising state of Athens from becoming great. But the internal developement as well as the external circumstances of Athens had already urged her forward on a course which she could not now abandon. Athens had become a great power, and nothing was left for her but to advance with honour, or to retreat with ignominy.

Dissensions between single states.

Furthermore, hostile feelings of various kinds prevailed between the different states. Argos was only watching for an opportunity to wreak her revenge on Sparta; Ægina and Corinth were pursuing one another

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with mutual jealousy; while in the same district the lesser cities were at issue with the greater, which desired to raise themselves as capitals over the heads of the rest—as, *e.g.*, Thebes over Thespiæ and Platææ. Frequently the wars between the states had no other character than that of a competitive rivalry, and were in a manner merely corrupt forms in which the antagonistic impulse, so deeply implanted by nature in the Hellenes, found vent. The civic bodies of neighbouring cities measured their strength with one another, and the principal object of the struggle was the erection of the symbols of victory. Hence, while engaged in the contest, they never thought of occupying secure positions, but advanced to meet one another in open field as for a duel, in which they might prove their courage against one another. Yet this comparatively harmless method of contest fell into abeyance in proportion as those political passions were aroused, which were more and more infusing their poison into the life of the nation.*

Party views universally prevalent among the Greeks.

The whole of Greece was pervaded by a distinct opposition of parties; for in all the cities there yet existed chivalrous families of ancient fame and wealth who enjoyed high authority, and believed themselves to have inherited as their destiny the leadership of the people and the guidance of the citizens. Wherever these families still remained at the helm of affairs, Athens was hated as the hearth of democracy, which, like a pernicious poison, was destroying in ever-widening circles the health of Hellenic life; nor was it thought possible to pardon the Athenians for having listened to the appeal of the Ionians and thus provoked all the misfortunes of the present crisis. But no civic community of any importance was without these parties, opposed to one another with a degree of bitterness proportionate to the force of the current and the movement of the times. One party joined in this movement with eager enthusiasm, while the other

* See Note XII. Appendix.

resisted it with suspicious diffidence, or by open opposition. Accordingly, the splendour of the rise of the young Athenian state necessarily became a stumbling-block, not only for the Spartans and Thebans, but also for all those who considered the welfare of the states to be founded upon the cautious conduct of affairs by the members of ancient families, and who hated nothing more deeply than a political revolution which brought the multitude into power, and which allowed the latter in tumultuous meetings in the market-place to decide the destinies of the states. The new generation, which was unfolding its forces with incredible activity, would no longer have anything to do with privileged classes, but demanded that all things should be within the reach of all men. Meanwhile, in the midst of this free competition of all forces, the ancient families saw their whole authority endangered; and their fall was regarded by the adherents of the old times as the ruin of Hellenic polity and of a higher system of manners and morals. They looked upon this sudden rise of the general body of the people as a mere passing fit of intoxication.

Medizing tendencies of the aristocracies.

And now the Persian wars were at hand. If these were to be successfully sustained, this could only be effected by means of the elevating force of a universal enthusiasm, *i.e.* by a great popular rising. This, at all events, was undeniable. Hence any successful issue would necessarily also amount to a victory of the popular party, to an advance of democracy. Accordingly the ancient families and their adherents were unable to feel any sympathy for the War of Liberation. They had already deemed the civic governments in the Ionian cities an abomination; and as in their hearts they were doubtless grateful to the Persians for having put an end to that nuisance, so would they again now rather see the Persians victorious in their own country than witness the triumph of the Democrats. Hence in all Greece the Aristocrats were on the side of the Medes, and either guided the whole

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state in this sense, as in Thessaly and Thebes, or, where they were unable to do this, advanced their tendencies by secret intrigues, as in Eretria and Athens. Attempts were even made to demonstrate all manner of relations of common descent between Persians and Greeks, in order to put a gloss on the tendency in favour of the cause of the national enemy. In Argos men were content to allow Perseus to be claimed as the common ancestor of the Achæmenidæ and the Argives. The learning of Greek mythologers busied itself in making use of the Phrygian Pelops so as to prove the title of the Achæmenidæ to a part of the heritage of the Pelopidæ; and in the same way Datis was informed, that as a descendant of Medus, the son of Medea and Ægeus, he had claims upon Attica.*

Sentiments of the Delphic priesthood and its friends.

Neither, from the points of view indicated above, had the Delphic oracle any interest in asserting the national cause against the Persians; for the priesthood saw the last remains of its influence vanishing in proportion as democracy continued to obtain dominion in the towns. Democracy was the reverse of all that had from time immemorial been established as a salutary system of law at Delphi (p. 87). This consideration again determined the political attitude of those among the Hellenes who were intimately connected with Delphi and represented the Delphic principles in the eyes of the nation. Such a man as Pindar—who, himself a noble of ancient descent, devoted his whole life to reviving the fame of the ancient families by his songs, "as the dew strengthens and beautifies the plants of the field," who regarded the hereditary descent of virtues from father to son as the pledge for the preservation of all that was noble and beautiful, and whose sentiments were as averse from the dominion of the people as from the despotic sway of Tyrants—such a man as Pindar could take no part in the enthusiasm of the

* Cf. Herod. vii. 61, 150, and Schol. to Arist. *Pax*, 289, with the remarkable statement as to the Philhellenism of Datis.

Wars of Liberation, and could shortly after the battle of Marathon sing the glories of an Athenian without giving one word to that great day.*

Other anti-national influences.

But it was not only the Aristocrats whose tendencies were against the war. There abounded in Greece men of another sort, who counselled submission, and were on the side of the Medes. These comprised both natives and aliens, especially those whose interest it was to prevent the disturbance of a life of easy enjoyment, and of a free intercourse between the shores on either side of the sea. Hence among the aliens an especially strong influence was exerted by the courtesans, who came over in constantly-increasing numbers from the Ionian cities, and who by their social accomplishments and connexions with eminent men obtained influence, and found many opportunities of spreading a feeling, advantageous to the Persians, in favour of peace. Among their number was the beautiful Thargelia of Miletus, who was successively connected with fourteen different protectors, and who exercised a very important influence on political affairs. Thus in Thessaly she had been able to secure the favour of one of the most powerful native princes, Antiochus, a relative of the Aleuadæ, and even after his death maintained herself in a princely position of power. She was the most widely known among the women who asserted their influence in favour of the Median cause.†

Considerations in favour of Xerxes' success.

Such is a general view of the tendencies and state of parties in Hellas. If in addition to this is taken into consideration the power of money which the Persians had at their command—if it is remembered how rare among the Greeks was the virtue of incorruptibility, and in how many ways, open and secret, by a voluntary adoption of their side by deserters and

* See Note XIII. Appendix.

† With reference to Thargelia as a partisan of the Great King, cf. Plut. Pericl. 24; Athen. 608. See Buttmann, *Mythologus*, ii. 201.

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traitors, the Persians were supported by the Greeks themselves—it may be understood how Xerxes came to think his guest Demaratus out of his senses when the latter prophesied that a serious war awaited the Persians.

Peculiar treatment and actual position of Sparta and Athens.

Everything in the first instance depended on Sparta and Athens. To these states Xerxes had sent no ambassadors; after what had taken place they were regarded as hostile cities whom due punishment must befall. Both were in the same situation, and dependent on their own resources. The bond of the close union which they had formed ten years ago had been loosened. After sustaining by herself a victorious fight, Athens had fallen back upon her own strength, and, without attempting any agreement with Sparta, had endeavoured to develope her own resources. The change in the strategic plans of the Persians, followed by the events of the Egyptian revolt, the dispute as to the succession at Susa, the death of Darius, the vacillations of his successor, and finally the new armaments of the latter, together with the waste of time they involved—all these causes had helped to further the execution of the plans of Themistocles. Undisturbed and unhindered by any foreign interference, Athens had become a naval power of the first class; and, possessed of two hundred well-equipped triremes and a strong harbour of war, she felt it her mission to pursue a vigorous and independent policy.

Formation of a national party throughout Greece.

But, even as it was, Athens could and might not remain dependent on herself alone. After Themistocles had worked for years with so brilliant a success on behalf of Athens, he now attacked the difficult task of gathering together the forces of resistance obtainable beyond the limits of Athens, and of uniting in a concert of measures such among the states as were resolved to attempt a defence. Upon the execution of this task he could, however, not enter until the danger was so near at hand that it was perceptible even to the dullest eyes, and that a common fear

outweighed all other feelings. The national centre of the national party was Sparta, the federal capital of the peninsula, which formed the citadel of Hellas. But the city in the remote valley of the Eurotas was under existing circumstances no suitable place for a federal council. Unless its resolutions were ever to lag in the rear of events, this council must necessarily find its seat in Central Hellas and on the coast. No locality could be better adapted for this purpose than the Isthmus of Corinth, where all the land and sea routes crossed one another—a gathering-place of the Hellenes of primitive fame, consecrated by the tombs of the Heroes Sisyphus and Neleus, as well as by the sanctuary of Posidon and the adytum of Palæmon, at which were sworn the most solemn of oaths. By moving it to the Isthmus, the council of the Hellenes received a position of greater freedom, while at the same time a wider view was opened before it.

The Greek deputies assemble on the Isthmus of Corinth. Ol. lxxiv. 4. (B.C. 481.)

It was a momentous day for Greece, when, in the autumn of Ol. lxxiv. 4 (481 B.C.), the delegates assembled on the Isthmus; it was the beginning of a new union of states under the presidency of Sparta. But once more Sparta proved herself barren of good counsel. Instead of herself advancing, she was merely pushed forward by the rest. The really creative and motive impulses came from Athens; and among the Peloponnesians it was an Arcadian, Chileus of Tegea, who understood the times, and who by his personality managed to establish an important influence in Sparta itself. Themistocles and Chileus were the chief founders of the new confederacy, in which were revived the ideas of the ancient Amphictyons. But this new Hellenic alliance was independent of all priestly influences, and consisted of a free union of all the states which were resolved to risk property and life in the defence of the independence of their country.

Exertions of Themistocles and Chileus.

On this occasion Themistocles again proved himself a statesman who knew how to combine at the right

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Formation of the Isthmian confederation under the nominal hegemony of Sparta.

Ol. lxxiv. 4. (B.C. 481.)

moment a commanding vigour of action with a wise readiness to make concessions. For, when the question arose as to the leadership of the confederation, Themistocles persuaded his fellow-citizens to defer the assertion of their claims, however well these might be founded. This was no time to quarrel about forms. Sparta retained the undivided hegemony; but, as a matter of fact, Athens stood *by the side of* Sparta: and the embassies despatched from the Isthmus were accordingly constituted of members of both these states.

The first resolution passed on the Isthmus consisted in a solemn vow on the part of the deputies, in the name of their states, that all internal feuds should cease, in order that they might in full concord confront the foe. The most important consequence of this resolution was a reconciliation between Athens and Ægina. The second was the despatch of envoys commissioned to invite the participation of the states whose intentions were as yet doubtful, and of the remoter members of the Hellenic race. This measure was designed to make it easier for Argos to join the alliance, and to induce the Cretan and Sicilian citie to employ their resources in aiding it. Finally, the third result was an agreement concerning the strategic plan of the defence. During the time in which the decrees of the federal council were being carried out the deputies remained assembled on the Isthmus as a permanent council of war. Here were the headquarters of the central body of the nation, *i.e.* of those Hellenes who were resolved on the defence of their country; here the national enthusiasm was strengthened and heightened by the impulses of mutual encouragement, and, while danger was imminent, the love of liberty and the ardour for the contest increased.

General rising of the nation.

Hence no discouragement was allowed to be produced by the return of the spies, whom Xerxes had caused to be conducted round the camp at Sardes, nor by the wailings of the Pythia, who, instead of raising, was lowering the courage of the Greeks; not even by

the negative reply of the Argives, who justified their false neutrality by a declaration of the Pythia; nor by the embassies, which returned from Crete and Sicily without having accomplished their object. No computation was made of the numbers of either foes or friends; but those who were resolved upon resistance gathered close together, in the feeling that naught else was left for them to do. They had good reason to call themselves the patriotic party, the "well-affected."

But if the allies simply did their duty, to the others the blame attached of neglecting theirs. This fact it was necessary to proclaim by means of a distinct declaration. A voluntary alliance with the Persians, as well as any service performed by a Hellene, by word or deed, to the Persians, amounted to high treason; the Isthmian federal council was the court of judicature, which pronounced the sentence of outlawry upon such men as Arthmius of Zela, who had brought Persian money into Greece. All whose sentiments were hostile to freedom were excluded from the national festive games; self-sacrificing patriotism alone should entitle any man to rank as a full Hellene. Among the obligations undertaken by the confederates were expressly included those of avenging the national gods upon their foes and betrayers, of making war in common, after the defence had been successfully accomplished, upon those who had chosen the side of the Persians, and of dedicating out of the booty gained a tithe to the Delphic god, according to the ancient national custom. This expression of a bold and resolute policy was of importance, because it encouraged the confederates, and raised their hopes beyond the troubles of the present; because it frightened those cities which were hesitating, and at the same time, already at this early date, gave rise to the pregnant idea that as those cities who voluntarily held back should be punished, so those whom the Persians had forcibly enslaved should be liberated.

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Thus at the time of the heaviest tribulation, when it seemed doubtful how the nearest frontiers might be protected, there arose the idea of a great and an enlarged fatherland, which should with a new splendour confront the barbarians. The Greek Muse did not fail to contribute her aid towards fostering the enthusiasm of the nation. Above all, Simonides of Ceos, the influential friend of Themistocles, though already past his seventieth year, with youthful warmth comprehended the great movements of the times; and he who had once exercised a courtly art at the table of Hipparchus, and afterwards at that of the Scopadæ in Thessaly, now became a singer of the Wars of Liberation, and inspired the nation to take arms against its foe. Men felt how much was at stake, and had never more warmly appreciated the value of the blessings which Hellas offered. The Greeks became fully and thoroughly conscious of the old-established contrast between Hellenes and Barbarians; for it is impossible to conceive forces more utterly different than these which were now arming for mutual conflict. On the one side we see a king whose arbitrary will knows of no limit; who, with the princes of his house, stands at the head of the multitudes of the peoples of Asia, blind subjects of his will, driven over the Hellespont like cattle by the blows of thongs. On the other side is gathered a small group of free civic communities, which had not until the last moment united for the purpose of a common defence: but the motive which united them was the consciousness of a moral obligation to risk their lives for their native country and its gods, and at the same time the feeling of national pride; for they could not bear the thought that they were to submit to be subjugated by nations upon which they looked down as upon nations of slaves.

The members of the confederation.

Everything now depended, above all, on the allied Hellenes arranging in order their military and naval forces, and forming a resolution as to the defence of the country. The states represented by their deputies

on the Isthmus included, besides Sparta, Arcadia, Elis, Corinth, Sicyon, Epidaurus, Phlius, Trœzene, Mycenæ, Tiryns, and Hermione; further, Athens, and possibly also Megara, Platææ, and Thespiæ. Ægina, too, now took part in the common cause. All attempts to attract participators from more distant quarters had failed. The sixty triremes of the Corcyræans, which had been promised, remained behind in the western sea under empty pretences; and the Tyrants of Syracuse, who might have brought the most considerable forces to the aid of the confederates, were too proud to take part in a war the supreme guidance of which was committed to Sparta. Moreover, they had to husband all their resources against Carthage. In the mother-country itself Argos and Thebes had remained aloof from the confederacy—Argos waiting with secret eagerness for the humiliation of Sparta, and Thebes for the fall of Athens: in either place the governments which were adverse to the national cause were busily engaged in suppressing all opposite, *i.e.* national, tendencies. CHAP. I *The defa*

But nowhere was public feeling more divided, and the state of affairs more critical in consequence, than in Thessaly. Here the Aleuadæ assumed to act in the name of the whole country, but they were nothing less than instruments of the popular will; rather was it their intention, with the aid of the Persians, to master the popular movement, which they had been unable to overcome by themselves. The Thessalians, then, whose sympathies were with liberty, felt the deepest interest in the war: they sent deputies to the federal council on the Isthmus, declared their adhesion to it, and demanded support for the purpose of the defence of their frontiers. It was impossible to refuse the demand of these men; besides, it appeared as it were a sacred and Amphictyonic duty to defend the portal of Hellas; nor did any place appear better adapted for a successful resistance against a superior hostile force than the pass of Tempe. But the march *Thessaly.* *The march to Tempe.*

CHAP. I. through Bœotia presented grave difficulties. Accordingly for the first time use was made of the Attic fleet. Ten thousand soldiers, who were assembled on the Isthmus, were placed on board under the command of Euænetus and Themistocles, and transported through the Euripus to South Thessaly, whence, having united their forces to those of the Thessalian auxiliaries, they proceeded to their station in the vale of Tempe.

The retreat from Tempe.

But the joyous ardour with which this brave army occupied the valley, and the hope which animated them that they would be able once more to extend free and united Hellas as far as the crest of Olympus, were not to maintain themselves for long. News came, that in the summer a pass of the mountains higher up was accessible, and a secret message from Alexander of Macedonia informed the commanders that preparations were already being made in this pass for the passage of the Persians. Hence the occupation of Tempe was useless. Moreover, it was clearly recognised that it would be an easy matter for the Persians to land troops south of Tempe, which would take up a position in the rear of the Greeks. Lastly, little dependence was to be placed on all the country in their rear. Already the states of Central Greece were commencing negotiations with the Persians, and in Thessaly the dynastic party raised its head the higher the nearer the Persians approached. Under these circumstances it would have been folly to sacrifice the best Hellenic troops on this distant frontier on behalf of untrustworthy allies. Accordingly the Greeks retired to the Isthmus by the same road by which they had left it, and immediately afterwards there ensued the open defection of the whole of Thessaly. Subsequently the inhabitants of the mountain districts also, the Perrhæbians, the Dolopes, Ænianes, and Magnetes, as well as the Malians and Phthiotian Achæans, even those among the Locrians who dwelt nearest by, sent earth and water to the Great King,

who at that time still lay encamped in southern Macedonia. CHAP. I.

Thus dwindled the array of the Greeks. The first march-out had been followed by a speedy retreat; and even those who had remained true lost courage. But Themistocles only worked with redoubled energy in Athens and on the Isthmus, both in his own person and through the other members of his party. Among their number was Timon at Delphi. When the Pythia's prophecies of evil increased the general despondency, Timon detained the messengers who had been sent from Athens to consult the oracle and were about to return home in despair, and contrived to procure a new prophecy for them, in which there was after all visible a ray of hope. "Though all things fall," such was the last answer of the Pythia, "yet the wooden walls of the Cecropidæ shall not fall." When the Athenian envoys brought home this oracle, Themistocles took advantage of it to point out to his fellow-citizens, that the gods themselves manifestly approved his plans, inasmuch as the impregnable citadel of wood plainly signified the navy. That even in his native city he had to contend against constant difficulties is proved by the circumstance that, at the election of generals in the decisive year of the war, Epicydes, a popular orator of cowardly policy, could appear as a rival candidate to Themistocles, doubtless supported by the party of those who even now were unwilling to proceed to extremities. In a case like this a man like Aristides would, conscious of his duty, tranquilly bide the event. Themistocles, who saw that everything was at stake, was deterred by no scruples from effecting by money the voluntary retirement of his rival from the candidature.

General discouragement.

Efforts of Themistocles and the members of his party.

Hereupon, in the federal council, Themistocles insisted upon a second march-out against the enemy, in order to bar his entrance into the interior. The choice of the place at which to make this stand could not be doubtful; for from Thessaly only a single road-

Second march-out of the confederate troops.

Ol. lxxv. 1. (B.C. 480.)

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way led along the Malian gulf. The coast of the latter is gradually closed in to the south of the Spercheus by the mountains branching out from the Œta range, particularly by the Trachinian hills, and then by Mount Callidromus, until at last only a narrow carriage-path remains between sea and mountains. From the base of the Callidromus hot springs bubble forth in great abundance, which have covered the rocky soil with a sulphureous crust. This is the so-called Hot-gate, or Thermopylæ; for like a narrow portal it formed the inlet from the territory of the Malians into that of the Locrians, and further on into Central Greece.

The pass of Thermopylæ.

This pass could not be evaded by the enemy by means of a circuitous march, if the land-army was to remain in the vicinity of the fleet. Close to the pass lay the ancient federal sanctuary of Demeter, where the deputies of the Amphictyons twice a year offered solemn sacrifices in the name of the whole nation: hence it was also a religious duty to defend this sacred place of sacrifice. Nor could any more favourable locality be found for the purposes of defence: for a support was furnished on the left by the impervious declivities, thickly overgrown with oaks and pines, and on the right by the sea-coast. But here again is no open sea, but only a narrow strait between the mainland and Eubœa, the maritime pass leading to the southern waters. Here, then, the Greek fleet, while closing the entrance against the Persian, could at the same time cover the flank of the land-army and prevent a landing on the part of the enemy. Finally, Thermopylæ was additionally fortified by walls which the Phocians had built across the plain by the coast. For Mount Callidromus was a spot familiar to the Phocians, who were accustomed to the defence of these passes against their hereditary enemies the Thessalians; and since the open defection of the latter they had become eager partisans of the national cause. Of this zeal it was imperatively necessary to take advantage; for if Thermopylæ were left unprotected,

all the country to the north of the Isthmus fell at once into the hands of the enemies.

Leonidas at Thermopylæ.

Now, if ever, the moment had arrived for the Spartans to place themselves at the head of Hellas with a full display of energy. But even now they halted and hesitated. Leonidas, who after the death of Dorieus had succeeded Cleomenes as king, was indeed despatched to Thermopylæ, but with no more than 300 Spartiates. The main body of their forces remained at home; and though the religion of their fathers knew of no duty more sacred than the defence of their home and its holy places against the Barbarians, they once more retreated under cover of religious scruples, and declared that during the celebration of the Carnean and Olympian festivals they could not send their troops out of the country. The small force actually despatched was increased by the accession of a thousand heavy-armed troops from Tegea and Mantinea; the same number came from the remaining part of Arcadia, with the exception of Orchomenus, which furnished a separate contingent of 120; 400 came from Corinth, 200 from Phlius, and 80 from Mycenæ. They were further joined by 700 hoplites from Thespiæ, and by 400 Thebans. The latter accompanied the expedition in the capacity of hostages, which had been demanded from Thebes in order to make sure that this city, whose inclination to join the enemy was no secret, should commence no hostile operations in the rear of the army.

The march of Leonidas, his personality and his energetic conduct, created the most advantageous impression: the Locrians, who had remained true, took courage; the Phocians furnished a body of auxiliaries; and it was publicly proclaimed that this was merely the vanguard of the Peloponnesian army. Thus then, for once, a Lacedæmonian king actually stood forth as the champion of Hellas, in defence of the sacred threshold of the land, with the flower of the nation around him. His measures were carefully taken:

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below, the walls were rebuilt; while the path higher up across the mountains, which led through the so-called Anopæa, he caused to be occupied by the Phocians. In this way he thought it possible to stop the pass, and, fully conscious of his deep responsibility, awaited in perfect tranquillity the arrival of the Persians, who without any mishap had passed through the rich valley of the Peneus, and whose vanguard was now visible on the heights of the Othrys.

The defence of the pass.

Xerxes advanced over the Spercheus against the pass, and encamped near the ancient Trachis, where the Asopus breaks forth out of the Trachinian rocks, which in a noble crescent surround the southern border of the bay. The two camps lay only an hour's distance from one another; and between them flowed the hot springs. Xerxes desired no useless effusion of blood, and waited for the Greeks to take their departure, as they had from Tempe. But, instead of abandoning their position, they appeared in front of their entrenchments, recruiting their bodily strength in gymnastic exercises, and adorning their long hair as for a festival. At last, on the fifth day, he sent forward a body of troops to chastise these men for their obstinacy. For two days, from morning to evening, the fight continued in the narrow plain by the sea-shore. As against the gates of a citadel, successive bodies of Medes were sent out to battle, the troops in the van being pushed forward towards certain destruction by those pressing in the rear; for they were without any protection against the Greek spears, which never missed their aim, while the missiles of the Medes glanced off from the bronze armour of the Greeks. The troops were repeatedly driven back, and Xerxes, looking on from the heights above, saw the blood of his choicest soldiers flowing in streams over the roadway. It was obviously useless to send forward new masses of troops. Rather was it advisable to find a circuitous route round the pass; and for this purpose there was no want either of paths

or of guides. Ephialtes, a Malian, offered himself as guide through the highland country extending above the pass. From the gorge of the Asopus the ascent was effected in the evening through the oak-forests, and the heights were reached by the break of day. The quiet of the morning favoured the march. The Phocians were asleep. The tramp of the enemy awakened them. They were unable at the moment to rouse themselves to resistance, and retreated to the summit of Callidromus in the belief that the attack was directed against their own body. But the Persians never thought of occupying themselves with the Phocians, and hurried down to fall in the rear of the Spartans.

The latter were soon aware of the real state of affairs. The position was no longer to be maintained, and this through the fault of the Phocians, who had kept so bad a watch. As yet Hydarnes had not descended from the height, and a way of retreat was open in the rear. But Leonidas could not doubt as to the nature of his duty, for he had not been sent hither as a general in order to fight according to his own discretion and according to circumstances, but simply to guard the pass. However good reason he had to be wroth with the Spartans who had left him in the lurch, yet to stand firm was for him merely to fulfil a citizen's duty, which to a genuine Spartan had come to be second nature. In order to avoid a useless effusion of blood, he dismissed the other contingents. The Thespians and Thebans remained: the former actuated by a heroic sentiment which has met with unanimous recognition, and which redounds so much the more to their honour, inasmuch as no external law of duty attached them to the spot; the latter, as Herodotus testifies, detained by Leonidas. He knew that if they survived this day they would only serve to swell the ranks of the Persians.

Immediately after their companions had departed, all chance of retreat was cut off, and from both sides

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Death of Leonidas.

B.C. 480. (*July.*)

infinitely superior forces pressed down upon the Greeks. About ten o'clock in the forenoon the little band formed its ranks for the final conflict. First Leonidas led them into the midst of the foe, in order that they might sell their lives as dearly as possible; then, when they were wearied by the fight and their spears had been one after the other shivered, they retired to a small eminence, which rises immediately to the south of the springs at a height of rather more than thirty feet. Here they fell, one after another, like brothers, under the arrows of the Medes. Their self-sacrifice was not made in vain: it served as an ensample for the Hellenes, and as a motive to vengeance for the Spartans, while to the Persians it furnished an instance of Hellenic valour, the impression of which could not be extinguished. Their grave became an eternal monument of the heroic virtue of citizens, which prefers certain death to the violation of sworn duty, and a monument of glory for Sparta,—but at the same time a burning reproach upon the authorities of that state, who were able indeed to train up citizens, but knew not how to employ their strength so as to ensure victory.*

The fleets meet off Artemisium.

Meanwhile, the first encounter by sea between the Persians and Greeks had also taken place. The Persian fleet had sailed out of the Thermæan gulf eleven days after the departure of Xerxes, in order to support the operations of the land-army. But its path was not so void of danger as the march of the troops through the fair fields of Thessaly. It had to sail along the rocky coast of the Pelion-range, which lies exposed to the north-east wind; and before it could reach the more protected roads of Eubœa the storms of the Hellespont fell vehemently upon it. The small rocky bays in the peninsula of Magnesia were unable to afford shelter for so vast a number of vessels. After sustaining a great loss in vessels and crews, they at last rounded the southern point of the peninsula, and on the fourth

* See Note XIV. Appendix.

day reached the entrance of the Pagasæan gulf (now the gulf of Volo), the roadstead of Aphetæ, where they saw opposite them the broad extent of the north coast of Eubœa, Artemisium (so called from a temple of Artemis), and at the same time the first Greek ships of war. These were 271 triremes, under the supreme command of the Spartan Eurybiades, which were guarding Artemisium, as the outpost of Greece proper, and the roads of the Euripus. CHAP. I.

It had cost Themistocles infinite trouble to keep together the Euripus fleet; for the commanders of the vessels were vacillating in pitiable indecision. When favourable news arrived from the Thessalian coast, they boldly ventured out; and then again one and all hid in the interior of the sound and timidly urged a retreat. In the first instance Eubœa itself was in danger. Accordingly the communities of the island applied to Themistocles: they sent in money thirty talents, by a discreet employment of which the Attic commander succeeded in inducing the Spartans and Corinthians, who were most urgent for a return home, to remain. He even availed himself of the impression which had been produced by the news of the mishap of the Persians at sea to induce the fleet to set sail; and it remained at its post even when the Persians lay opposite it at a distance of little more than nine miles: and the courage of the Greeks was speedily rewarded for this first resolute adherence to their post by a squadron of fifteen ships, which, drifting in the storm, had lost their way in a southerly direction, falling into their hands without a struggle. The first prisoners were sent to the Isthmus.

Meanwhile the Persian fleet had recovered from the effects of the storm, and now, according to its original orders, prepared to force an entrance through the passage stopped by the Greeks between Eubœa and the mainland, through the roads of the Euripus, the sea-Thermopylæ of Greece.

In this case again measures were taken to use the

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superiority of numbers for the purpose of outflanking the enemy. Accordingly, two hundred ships were detached, which were to sail round the outer side of Eubœa, to occupy the southern outlet of the sound, and thus enclose the Greeks in the Euripus. In order to hide this design, these ships were ordered to steer in a wide arc round Sciathus, as if their object were the Hellespont. But the Greeks had information of these measures; and as they thought to have found an opportunity of attempting a contest with a division of the fleet little superior in numbers to their own, they resolved to follow the ships in the next night to Sciathus.

Three naval conflicts. B.C. 480. (*July.*)

But when during the whole of the day no attack ensued on the part of the enemy, their courage suddenly rose, and at the approach of twilight they immediately attacked the main body of the fleet. The Persians hereupon put out to sea in order to surround the audacious squadron; but the Greek ships contrived so skilfully, first to concentrate themselves in a circular position, and then to make a sudden forward movement, that they captured thirty vessels. It was Lycomedes of Athens who took the first Persian ship: a Lemnian vessel went over to the confederates.

The gods too showed favour to the brave; for another night of storms and rain followed, such as is rare at this season of the year: the fleet at Aphetæ fell into fresh confusion; and the two hundred ships which had been despatched into the open sea were completely destroyed in the same night, when they were already on the point of rounding Eubœa. The Greek force, on the other hand, was increased by fifty Attic triremes: and thus a new attack was made on the following day, and again at a late hour, because no actual battle was desired. This time Cilician vessels met the Greek, which after a well-sustained fight returned to the coast of Artemisium.

The Persians felt that they must not for a third time leave the offensive to the Greeks. Accordingly they advanced at the hour of noon, formed in a crescent, in

order to surround the Greeks in front of the coast. This mode of attack was not a favourable one, for in the centre the ships were hindered in the freedom of their movements, and mutually damaged one another. The Greeks, and particularly the Athenians, who everywhere took the lead, found it proportionately easy to inflict great damage by means of attacks made in successive charges. At last the night put an end to this third fight, which already deserved the name of a naval battle. The Greeks were not beaten, but they had suffered heavy losses. Nineteen Attic ships had been rendered unfit for battle; five others, whose advance had been too bold, had been captured by the Egyptians. Was the struggle to be continued after this fashion? Even Themistocles could not approve of that; for in this open sea the Greeks after all had not sufficient advantages on their side for a decisive naval battle. At the same time, the three days of fighting had not been profitless. Experience of inestimable value had been gained; the first fear had been overcome; and those manœuvres had been executed in serious conflict and with manifest success which had been diligently practised for years. The national navy had successfully undergone its baptism of blood; and the earliest preludes had been enacted of the naval victories of the Hellenes.

Retreat of the Greeks from Artemisium.

While the commanders of the fleet were yet holding counsel with one another, there came from Thermopylæ the sad tidings which put an end to all vacillation. It was no longer a time for hesitation; all had to think of protecting their native shores. The Corinthians in the van, the Athenians as the rear-guard,—in this order the ships passed along the Euripus. Whatever could be carried away of the flocks and herds of Eubœa was placed on board. Of the unfortunate inhabitants, who now saw their island given up to the enemy despite all their sacrifices of money, as many as possible were taken on the ships. Themistocles caused Greek words to be inscribed at the places on

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the coast where ships usually landed to take in water, designed to gain over the Greeks on the approaching Persian fleet to the national cause, and to recall to their minds their duty towards the mother-country.

Consequences of the loss of Thermopylæ.

The consequences of the fall of Leonidas were of the widest significance. The plan of the second as well as of the first campaign had now ended in failure; the most sacred of the sacred places of the country, Thermopylæ and Delphi, had been given up; those communities which still hesitated, as well as those which yet remained true in Doris, Phocis, Locris, and Eubœa, were lost, and Thebes was ready to become the head-quarters of the Barbarians. Attica was left without protection, and the Spartans had approached to the goal of their dishonest policy, if at bottom their most anxious desire was that the Peloponnesus should speedily come to be regarded as the sole remnant of free Greece.

Movements of the Persians.

Upon Xerxes the only effect of the conflict at Thermopylæ was to cause him, being now so near to the main goal of his expedition, to advance his troops with the greatest possible persistency. The losses of his army were soon more than compensated by the accession of Greek auxiliaries. The Thessalians rejoiced in the opportunity of vengeance on their hated enemies, the Phocians, since the latter had, with generous pride, refused to purchase the mediation of the Thessalians. When the forces of the enemy poured through the passes of Hyampolis and Elatea into the Phocian territory, the inhabitants retired with all their moveable property to the rocky heights and caves of Parnassus; while the Persians, guided by the Thessalians, devastated the valley of the Cephisus.

The Persians at Delphi

One division of the army marched to Delphi. The temple was neither destroyed nor plundered. The cause of its escape was attributed, according to the story of the priests, to the immediate protection of the gods, who were said to have terrified the enemy by storms and the fall of rocks. Probably the priests, by wary

negotiations with the enemy, contrived to save their sanctuary. The lesser Bœotian towns were occupied on behalf of the Great King by Alexander of Macedonia. Fear and terror preceded the Persians on their march, and now at the frontiers of Attica they were gathering into a new consolidated mass. CHAP. I. *and in Bœotia.*

There was no time to occupy the passes of Attica; and even the idea of holding the citadel was mere childishness. The moment had accordingly now arrived when everything depended upon carrying out the plans of salvation which Themistocles had had in view for the last ten years. The fleet must now, like an ark of salvation, receive the citizens; city and country must be sacrificed in order to save the state. *State of feeling in Attica.*

For the execution of such measures as these an official authority was requisite armed with extraordinary powers; for, under existing circumstances, it was impossible to debate and pass resolutions in popular assemblies. The Areopagus was invested with an official authority of this description. The Areopagus both decreed and superintended the evacuation of the country, the embarkation and support of the people; and, in order that of the inhabitants capable of bearing arms none might seek his fortune elsewhere, it bestowed upon all the poorer citizens who went on board the triremes a present in money of eight drachms. The priests did their part in confirming the people in the belief that even beyond the walls of Athens it was not deserted by its gods. In consequence of a secret understanding with Themistocles, they announced that the serpent of the citadel had vanished thence, and that Athene herself had gone on shipboard with Erichthonius, the pledge of her divine blessings: thus the citizens might confidently follow her.*

But, even so, it was a day of lamentation and terror when the Athenians, laden with the burden of their chattels, wandered towards the shore, when they *The evacuation of Attica.*

* As to the Areopagus, cf. Aristot. *Polit.* p. 1304; Plut. *Themist.* 10; Schöll ad Herod. ix. 5.

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bade farewell to house and home, uncertain whether they would ever behold them again. A large body of them passed over to Salamis (which was connected with Athens by means of a ferry); others repaired to Ægina, others to the Peloponnesus, particularly to Trœzene. Salamis had now become the acropolis of Attica: here was the seat of the Areopagus; here the resolution was passed permitting all exiles to return home. No Athenian was to be prevented from proving his loyalty to his native city at such a time as this. This resolution particularly glanced at Aristides. A proof was to be given that at the present crisis there could be no question of parties in the state. Even outside the civic community, in wider circles, a feeling of fraternal unity manifested itself more vividly than on any previous occasion. The Trœzenians received the aged and the women of the Athenians as their guests, maintained all who were in want of such support at the public expense, permitted the children to gather fruit in the fields and gardens, and paid teachers for the instruction of the boys.

The Greek fleet at Salamis.

The sea of Salamis was the next place of assemblage of the fleet, which had confronted the foe off Artemisium. Hither the Athenians steered their vessels in order to protect their shores, the Æginetans in order to be in the vicinity of their island, and the Peloponnesians in order to support the defence of the passes of the Isthmus. Meanwhile a new fleet had assembled in the harbour of Trœzene, and now joined the other. According to Herodotus, there were now in all 378 triremes. Of these the Athenians formed the main body: the number of their ships was equal to that of all the rest put together; and it was their contingent alone which made a battle possible.

The Persian fleet off Phalerus.

The Persians had followed the Greek ships on their voyage through the Euripus: while their land-forces invaded the territory of Attica, their fleet anchored on the shore of Phalerus. After all its losses, it still amounted to more than a thousand sail. Thus, for the

second time, the two fleets lay opposite one another, and everything now depended on the course of operations which would be determined upon in the head-quarters of either force.

Persian council of war.

On the shore of the bay of Phalerus Xerxes presided at a solemn council. In its front sat the king of Sidon, next to him the Tyrian, supported, according to a strict order of precedence, by the princes of the empire and the remaining commanders of the army and fleet. Exulting in his armada, which he had successfully assembled in the heart of a hostile territory, and eagerly expectant of the immediate fall of the Acropolis, the Great King proposed for discussion the further plan of operations, and caused Mardonius to make the circuit of the assemblage, in order to collect the different opinions. All were aware of the king's absolute assurance of victory, and none dared to advise against a naval battle. Artemisia alone, the sagacious queen of Halicarnassus, openly declared that she knew of but *one* rational plan of operations—viz. that of advancing by land towards the Isthmus. This would cause the hostile fleet to separate immediately, and without attempting a struggle; and thus all resistance would be for ever at an end. Her opinion was so convincingly correct that it is difficult to account for the blindness of the Persians, who, with their clumsy fleet, voluntarily entered into the most unfavourable waters to be found in the Ægean. The thoughts of Xerxes, however, were not bent upon a conflict with the Greek fleet, but only upon its annihilation; and the narrow bounds of the sea of Salamis, as offering a convenient panoramic view, probably appeared to him to be peculiarly well adapted to afford him personal enjoyment of the anticipated spectacle.

Salamis is a rocky island extending in a long line jutting out in a strange zigzag; its southern half reaches far out into the sea of Ægina, while the northern inserts itself so deeply between the hills

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of the Attic and Megarean coast that the bay of Eleusis is shut off like an inland sea. Two narrow passages lead into this bay; the one along the Megarean coast, the other from the Piræus, where the approach is closed in by promontories, reefs, and rocky islands. Far better protected is the inner bay, an excellent roadstead of great depth. Here lay the Greek ships, off the flat shore of Salamis, where, opposite the hills of Attica, a crescent-shaped bay opens into the island below the town of Salamis, which occupied the isthmus connecting the two halves of the island. On this spot the resolution must be taken as to where and how the remnant of free Greece was to be defended. Everything depended on a determined and unanimous course of action: and yet the confederate council of war had never been more discordant and irresolute.

Greek council of war.

Eurybiades, Themistocles, and Adimantus.

No position could be more difficult than that of Eurybiades, the commander-in-chief of the confederates. He was without instructions of any kind from Sparta, and was at the same time personally weak and devoid of any independent view as to the situation of affairs. By him stood on the one side Themistocles, of whose overpowering superiority he was painfully aware, while his fears were agitated by the pressure which the Athenians constantly put upon him; on the other side, Adimantus of Corinth.

For the Corinthians had totally changed their attitude towards Athens. Before the battle of Marathon they had been her most active allies, because they found in her a balance against Sparta, a pledge for the independence of the central states, and a vigorous support towards the humiliation of the Æginetans. But when, within a few years, under the guidance of Themistocles, Athens rose to be the first naval power, all was changed. Athens had now become the most dangerous of states in the eyes of Corinth, and Themistocles the most hateful of men: accordingly, Adimantus was his most decided opponent; and although he must more clearly than any of the rest have perceived the favourable prospects offered

by a naval conflict off Salamis, he constituted himself the leader of the party voting for retreat. The fears of the Peloponnesians and the short-sightedness and narrow-mindedness of Sparta operated in his favour. His party had only to suggest the case of an unsuccessful battle: should this occur, they would all be hopelessly lost, and, wedged in as they were, would have to look forward to inevitable ruin. Already, as he reminded them, the whole military force of the Peloponnesians, which had started on as soon as the news of Leonidas' fall had arrived, was assembled on the Isthmus, and busied there day and night with the construction of the wall, while another division was filling up the Scironian pass with earth and rubbish. At the Isthmus, Adimantus and his party declared, lay the portal of what was really Hellas.

Destruction of the Acropolis by the Persians:

In the midst of the debate arrived the news of the fall of the Attic citadel. The Persians had first hurled burning missiles at it from the hill of Ares, and then by a secret path ascended it from the north side. The brave band of men who had refused to relinquish the sanctuaries of their fathers was cut to pieces at the altars and in the temples, and the whole area of the citadel devastated with fire and the sword. These were deeds of a savage fanaticism, such as the noble-minded Darius would not have sullied his fame by committing.

its effect upon the Greeks.

However this unavoidable misfortune failed in exercising a decisive influence upon the course of events, yet it produced an important effect. Some of the commanders of the ships hastened away, in order, without any further consideration, to prepare for departure; and those who remained voted with Corinth. Thus the assembly separated at the approach of night, and Themistocles, discouraged and wearied by his fruitless efforts, returned to his ship. It was then that Mnesiphilus (vol. i. p. 354) approached him— his paternal friend, a man who had acquired his political insight and conviction of the future greatness

Mnesiphilus and Themistocles.

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of Athens from his intercourse with Solon. Possessed of a philosophic mind and free from ambition, he had, as it appears, sought no prominent position in the state; but by his guidance and instruction exercised a strong influence upon the younger generation, and particularly upon Themistocles. He kept alive Solon's ideas as to the developement of his native city, and thus became an important connecting link between the elder and the younger generations of Athens.

He now intervened directly in the course of events, and at the critical hour. For when he enquired as to the result of the council of war, and learnt that retreat had been resolved upon, he said to Themistocles: "In that case thou wilt never again have a native country to fight for."

These words took fire in the soul of his disciple; the irrecoverable importance of the present moment impressed itself with new force upon him, and forbade him to rest quiet or hesitate: he leapt back into the boat, and bade them row him once more to the Spartan admiral's vessel. There he had an interview with Eurybiades alone; and clearly pointed out to him how a retreat from Salamis signified the final renunciation of all resistance on the sea. The Æginetans and Megareans would no more than the Athenians consent to retreat to the back of Salamis. Would Eurybiades, the commander-in-chief, take upon himself the responsibility of allowing the noble naval force committed to his care ingloriously to dissolve?

Second council of war.

Hereupon Eurybiades once more assembles the commanders, to whom Themistocles propounds his view in the most conciliatory and persuasive terms possible; and Megara and Ægina signify their assent. All the more bitter is the opposition of Adimantus. Themistocles, he derisively asserts, has no right to take part in the debate, being a man without a home and without a city. "Here is Athens," Themistocles answers, pointing to the 200 triremes, "even without a city, and without a territory, more powerful than all

the rest of you." He then dwells unsparingly on the unpatriotic sentiments of Corinth, on her insidious enjoyment of the misfortune of a confederate city, and finally appeals with a few resolute words to Eurybiades. Let him now make his choice between honour and shame. "We Athenians," he concludes, "shall not return to the Isthmus. If you decline to fight, be it so; we shall depart with all our ships to found in Italy another Athens. And, as best you may, defend your land then without our aid."

The firm attitude of Themistocles did not miss its effect; for if the Athenians were to secede, all power of resistance would be at an end. Thus, then, towards daybreak the new resolution was passed, that the present position should be maintained; and at early dawn the enemy's fleet was already seen approaching from the Phalerus, to take up its station on the Eleusinian shore opposite to the Greeks. At the same time the Persian land-forces—infantry, cavalry, and charibts—advanced towards the shore. Wherever the eye turned, land and sea were covered by endless hostile masses, which gathered like storm-clouds round the little band of Greeks. Soon no chance of refuge or retreat was left, except the bare rocks of the island crowded with wailing fugitives.

Thereupon all confidence was once more at an end. The Peloponnesians believed the enemy to have already commenced his march upon the Isthmus; they deemed their deserted homes threatened, and themselves uselessly sacrificed for the sake of the Athenians alone, who were already lost. The feeling of anxious fear changed into murmurs and open insubordination, and at last Themistocles saw only a single way left him—the Greeks must be forced to hold out. He accordingly resolved to enter into negotiations with the Persian king. In accordance with the actual state of the case, he informed the latter that the Hellenes designed to escape; let him then not allow so favourable an opportunity of catching the whole fleet in his toils to

Secret message of Themistocles to Xerxes.

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go by, but immediately occupy the outlets on either side. Xerxes readily took the hint. With the approach of darkness the west wing was advanced towards Salamis, and on the east side the sea was closed towards Munychia, and Psyttalea occupied.

Such was the condition of affairs, while in the council of war opinions continued to be bandied to and fro, as if a choice were still left between battle and retreat, and while Themistocles in vain urged preparations for the battle. It was at this moment that he was called out from the council: Aristides stood before him. He had hurried over from Ægina, in order to be with his native city in her hour of trouble; and he offered his hand to Themistocles with these words: that the only matter now in dispute between them was as to which could perform the greatest services to Athens. Themistocles was then informed how Aristides had reached the naval station with the very greatest difficulty, all the outlets being occupied by the enemy. He came, without suspecting it, to bring the desired certainty at the right moment to his opponent, that the plot of the latter had succeeded, and to confirm his declaration. With eager delight Themistocles conducts him among the assembled generals, to repeat his testimony before them. Tenian deserters also arrive, to remove the last doubt as to the fact of the Greeks being surrounded on every side; and at last all are forced to realise clearly that no choice is left to them.

Arrival of Aristides.

The few remaining hours of the night were employed to dispose the ships in order of battle. The Athenians were placed at the western flank, opposite the Phœnicians and Cyprians, and the Peloponnesians at the eastern, opposite the Ionians; in the centre lay the vessels of Ægina and Eubœa, to which were opposed the Cilicians and Pamphylians. To the ships of the confederates had been added that which Phayllus of Croton had equipped on his own account; and further two vessels from Tenos and Lemnos, which

had deserted from the ranks of the enemy. The position of the fleet was extremely favourable, since the projections of the shore of Salamis rendered it impossible for the Greeks to be surrounded. CHAP. I.

Battle of Salamis. B.C. 480. (*Sept.* 20.)

Thus the day of the battle broke, the 20th of September (19th Boëdromion): it was a holy day for Athens, for in the evening commenced the day of Iacchus, on which the figure of the god was borne in a grand festive procession to Eleusis. While Themistocles was encouraging his fellow-citizens for the decisive fight, there arrived from Ægina the vessel with the sacred figures of the Æacidæ. An ardent desire for battle spread through the Greek ranks, and when they first came in view of the Persians, these, contrary to their expectation, beheld a naval armament ready for the fight, and heard the rocks of the island re-echo the sound of their trumpets and martial strains.

Either side was prepared for the most determined struggle. The last hope of the Hellenes rested in the annihilation of the foe, and behind them stood on the heights of Salamis their wives and children, whom the most terrible doom of slavery awaited if a complete victory should not be obtained. In the rear of the Persian fleet, on the projection of Mount Ægaleus, was erected the silver-footed throne of the Great King. There he sat in the midst of his troops, surrounded by councillors and scribes, near enough to overlook the waters, within the narrow limits of which hundreds of thousands were crowded together for battle, and ready to dispense on the spot rich rewards or the most fearful punishment. The commander of every vessel fancied the royal eye to be upon him; so that the promptings of ambition were aroused, particularly among the Ionians, of whom only a few purposely remained behind. Hence it was the Persians who with great vehemence made the first general attack. The Hellenes retreated upon Salamis, but in perfect order, the prows of their vessels remaining turned towards the enemy. Then they

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again slowly advanced, the Athenians and Æginetans in the van.

As in the Homeric battles, the fight began with single assaults; bold commanders dared to advance beyond the line, and drew the rest into the hand-to-hand contest. Thus the battle gradually became general, and the advantages on the side of the Greeks manifested themselves more and more clearly. For the Barbarians, who entirely depended on their numbers, fought without any systematic plan or order, while the Hellenes, particularly the Æginetans and Athenians, held together in squadrons. The vessels of the Barbarians were floating houses occupied by troops: the Greeks used their vessels themselves as a weapon of offence; with so elastic an impulse were they able to assault the foe. Their courage rose with every collision which sunk a hostile vessel, with every successful sweep which broke the oars of their adversaries. Towards noon the air and sea became disturbed, and the troubles of the enemy increased; drawn up in three lines, their heavy vessels were unable to move freely; and those which had been damaged were unable to retreat so as to make room for others to advance. In addition to this, the different nations composing the crews were full of jealousy against one another; the Phœnicians accused the Ionians of treachery, and the vessels ran down their neighbours in order to save themselves. The fright of the Asiatics was heightened by their seeing inevitable death in the waters before them; whereas the Greeks found more and more advantage in their agility in hand-to-hand fighting, in leaping and swimming, as the pressure of the throng increased. Ariabignes, the admiral and brother of the king, and other men of eminence, fell in the fight; the fleet lost its coherence, and the ships began, in order to escape from the universal destruction, to retreat in the direction of the Phalerus. This movement was favoured by the west wind; but even in their retreat ruin awaited them in a new form. For

while the Athenians pursued the fugitives, a squadron of Æginetans was cruising outside, which attacked them in front and inflicted great damage upon them.

Under these circumstances there was no time to take on board the troops which had been landed on Psyttalea to close this outlet of the bay against the Greeks. Aristides availed himself of this opportunity to take an active part in the battle. He rapidly collected a band of armed citizens, who were viewing the naval battle as spectators from Salamis, and with these landed on the island, whose low bushes and brambles offered no protection to the crowded masses of the enemy, the whole of whom—a division of chosen Persians—fell by the swords of the Athenians. Two hours after sunset the moon rose to favour the last stage of the pursuit and light up for the Greeks the battlefield of the bay of Salamis, abandoned by the Persians and densely covered with fragments of vessels and corpses.

Results of the battle.

Brilliant and incontestable as the victory of the Greeks had been, yet it had not in reality brought about any decisive result. The naval force of the enemy was nothing less than annihilated. Altogether he had probably lost not much more than the fifth part of his ships; nor was the loss of the Greeks much smaller. The proportion between the opposing forces was not essentially changed; and the land-forces of the enemy remained unhurt. Accordingly, the Greeks had to be prepared for a renewal of the fight. But, fortunately, their adversary was not one whom a defeat roused to redoubled exertions: rather, it was the personal cowardice of the Great King which made their victory complete. His boastful arrogance and his feeling of security, based on vain self-delusion, had broken down; he had never thought of anything but of celebrating victories—not of obtaining them by fighting. Now he had lost all confidence in his troops—he feared the cowardice of some and the faithlessness of others; and though his

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intention had a short time ago been to establish a world-wide power without end or limits, he was suddenly seized by fears for his personal security. His heart sank at the thought of being surrounded in a hostile land, and his fear lest the bridge over the Hellespont should be broken off affected him so strongly that he was firmly resolved to effect a speedy return. His only wish was, as far as possible to preserve the royal dignity.

It was in this that his wishes were met by Mardonius. The latter had reason to apprehend the worst for his own safety if the whole Persian force had immediately returned to Athens. For this would have amounted to an open confession of the rout, and his adversaries would have called him to account for all the calamities of this unsuccessful war. On the other hand, he had even yet by no means relinquished his ambitious designs, and hoped as an independent commander-in-chief to be able more easily to attain to his end—the establishment of a Europæo-Greek satrapy. He accordingly advised the Great King to look upon the present campaign as terminated by the conquest of Attica, to return with the fleet and part of the troops to Asia, and to leave him behind in Greece with the best of the land troops, to complete the subjection of the mainland and the establishment of the newly-founded satrapy. In this way the person of the Great King was removed out of all danger. But lest the departure of the king might appear in the light of an immediate consequence of the battle of Salamis, it was resolved to maintain the position on the Attic coast, and even to throw up a mole across the water to Salamis, as if the island were to be taken at any price. Meanwhile, all the preparations were made for the king's departure, and the fleet was commanded to set sail for the Hellespont.

The Persians pursued.

The Hellenes followed as far as Andros, where a new council of war was held. Themistocles advised

an immediate expedition to the Hellespont, in order to attack the Persian fleet in its retreat, and to destroy the bridge of boats. This appeared to him to be the true way of taking advantage of the victory of Salamis; it was in reality the same plan as that which Miltiades had advocated at the bridge over the Danube—viz. to annihilate the Great King with his whole army in a hostile land, and then immediately to commence the liberation of Ionia, in the way of which there would then be no further obstacle. The Attic sailors glowed with the desire of taking the fullest vengeance upon Xerxes; and therefore impatiently urged the expedition to the Hellespont. Meanwhile the other commanders had even now no intention of following the bold flight of Themistocles' schemes. They considered the plan foolhardy, and its success more than doubtful in view of the vast resources of the northern countries and of the large numbers of adherents of Xerxes there; and they generally disapproved of detaining the retreating army in Greece and forcing it to a desperate struggle. Themistocles had to submit; and hereupon even did his best to calm the excitement of the Athenians, who wished to advance by themselves. He begged them for the present to content themselves with the divine judgment which had overtaken the impious foe; in the spring the Hellespont and Ionia should be attempted. For the present it was considered sufficient to levy forced contributions upon the islands which had done homage to the Persians. Under the pretence of carrying out the decrees of the Isthmus, Themistocles already clearly indicated that he had created the Athenian navy, not only for the purpose of resistance against the enemy, but also for the foundation of a dominion. CHAP. I.

Mardonius left behind in Thessaly.

Meanwhile, in Thessaly the masses of the enemy's troops were divided. Mardonius, upon whom as the lieutenant of Xerxes was bestowed the royal tent with all its paraphernalia, retained for himself the

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Return of Xerxes.

ten thousand "Immortals," the flower of the troops of the warlike tribes of Iran, and the most tried veterans of the remainder of the army. With the rest Xerxes continued his march, under the guidance of Thorax, hurrying with increasing haste towards the bridge. Artabazus with 50,000 men accompanied him as far as the Hellespont. From day to day their troubles increased: the bad season arrived prematurely with snow-storms and cold; the Thracian rivers were covered with deceptive ice; and the native tribes proved untrustworthy when the change of fortune which had taken place became evident. The supplies of provisions were not in readiness; the most necessary arrangements had been neglected; and hunger and disease swept away both men and beasts. Thus it was only the miserable remnants of an army in a state of dissolution which remained for Xerxes to lead across the Hellespont, the bridges over which the storm had broken; and even on the other side of the sound many died in consequence of their sufferings.

The prizes of victory.

The departure of Xerxes gave the Hellenes just cause to celebrate a full festival of victory. The first triremes which had been captured were consecrated on the Isthmus, on Sunium, and on Salamis; common dedicatory gifts were vowed to the saviour-gods in Olympia and Delphi, and the prizes distributed. The tendencies and sentiments which prevailed during the latter proceeding are evident from the circumstance that the commander's prize was not declared at all, although on no other occasion can the merit of *one* commander have less admitted of dispute; but even the second prize, which all the captains unanimously voted to Themistocles, it was sought to refuse him. The prize of valour, too, for conduct in the battle, was given to the Æginetans, and only after them to two Athenians.

The deep disfavour which prevailed against Themistocles was fostered at Delphi. Here the god required

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from the Æginetans, whom he thus again intended to designate as the real victors, an additional dedicatory gift of their own, which was placed in the antecella of the temple, by the side of the mixing-cup of Crœsus (it consisted of a ship's mast of bronze, with three stars of gold), while the gifts which Themistocles desired to offer to the god out of his share in the spoils of victory were basely rejected. All the greater were the honours accorded to him at Sparta. Together with Eurybiades, he was publicly crowned with a wreath, presented with a splendid chariot, and conducted solemnly by the three hundred knights of Sparta as far as the frontier of the land: these were honours such as had never been offered to a stranger. However they may have soothed his offended sense of honour, they were not adapted to create a favourable impression at Athens. At all events, immediately after the battle of Salamis the influence of Aristides again pre-eminently asserted itself. In the spring he was elected commander-in-chief of the Attic land-forces with extraordinary powers, while upon Xanthippus was bestowed the supreme command of the fleet.

Situation of affairs during the winter. Ol. lxxv. 1. (B.C. 480-79.)

It was impossible for the Athenians to shut their eyes against the danger which continued imminent. The foe was still sufficiently their superior in numbers; and the diminution which had taken place in these was in reality rather an advantage for the Persians than the reverse, inasmuch as it facilitated the supply of provisions and the conduct of operations. Those which remained were all chosen troops, led by the resolute will of a commander well acquainted with the country and its inhabitants, and whose honour and public position entirely depended on the result of this campaign: they stood in the centre of Greece, surrounded by faithful allies, who co-operated with them in every possible way. True, the pristine assurance of

CHAP. I. victory could no longer animate the Persian hosts, vitally shaken as it had been by recent experiences, and particularly by the hurried departure of the Great King, dark forebodings pervaded the whole army; and even noble Persians, the leaders of the army, openly confessed that they felt themselves drawn to ruin as by a dark destiny; among the generals themselves some, particularly Artabazus, were by no means either eager for the fight or trustworthy.

Plans of Mardonius.

Thus it happened that from the first the conduct of Mardonius was characterised by extreme caution and suavity. It was evidently not his intention to allow the result of the new campaign once more to depend on a single battle. Hence he employed even the rest of the first winter in Thessaly in forming connexions with the Greek states and holy places; he endeavoured to obtain from the oracles a kind of legitimation of his plans, and agreed with the Argives that they should, by a hostile operation, prevent the Spartans from sending out an expedition against him. Above all, however, he was occupied in negotiations with Athens. For this purpose he found the most suitable mediator in Alexander of Macedonia (p. 166), who was a vassal of the Great King, and connected by marriage with the first families of the nobility of the Persian empire, and at the same time a Heraclid of Greek blood; from his youth a friend of Greek culture, acknowledged as a Hellene at Olympia, who had proved his devotion to the cause of Greece, and already performed so many services for the Athenians that they had bestowed upon him the titles of benefactor and *ξένος* of their city. Through him Mardonius expressed his conciliatory sentiments towards the Athenians. All previous events should be forgotten: his desire was not the ruin of the city; nay, he would himself rebuild their city and temples, and make their land great. He only asked them to secede from the confederation of the Hellenes and combine with him, without forfeiting their independence.

It is obvious that his idea, perhaps suggested by the oracles, was to found a federation of Greek states under the protectorate of Persia. In spite of all hostile representations, he hoped after all to have a better chance of gaining over Ionian Athens than the obstinate Dorians; and his ultimate object was to make himself master of the Peloponnesus with the help of the Attic fleet. The plan was well conceived, and the temptation great for the Athenians. It should be remembered how they had only recently returned from the islands and coasts; how they were trying, in the face of want and difficulties, to re-establish themselves in their desolated native land, without houses and without a harvest; and how in the midst of their troubles they found themselves treated with insidious jealousy by the Spartans. At Sparta the vital importance of the crisis was felt. Envoys were hastily despatched to Athens, who promised the most faithful aid of the confederation in the approaching war, and declared that everything possible should be done to alleviate the sufferings of war. In deep anxiety they awaited the resolution of the Attic community, on which depended the fate of Greece.

Transactions at Athens.

In times like these Aristides was the right man to point out to those among his fellow-citizens who might chance to hesitate what their native country demanded from them. On his proposition an answer was given in the assembly of the people convoked to come to a final decision on the matter, both to the Laconian envoys and the Persian (who were supported by Alexander)—an answer which will remain ever memorable, as long as the memories of history survive on earth. The Athenians publicly declared that they would not barter away their liberty for any treasures in the world; that they were the enemies of the Persians, who had destroyed their temples, and would remain such as long as the sun pursued his course: and in order to bind themselves with the greatest solemnity to their words, they caused the priests of

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the state to pronounce the heaviest curse upon any citizen who should prove untrue to the confederation of the Hellenes.

As soon as the fears of the Spartans were removed by the high-minded conduct of the Athenians, they again became the old tardy and selfish allies, and never thought of fulfilling their promises. Accordingly, when the Attic envoys hastened to Sparta, in order to announce the commencement of Mardonius' march from Thessaly and to demand a speedy fulfilment of their confederate obligations, they were detained for weeks under all kinds of pretences by the authorities. It could no longer be a matter of doubt to any mind: the Spartans *had no wish* to prevent the new humiliation of Athens. At last they ordered the troops to march secretly by night, in order to be able to mock the Athenians, who on the next day appeared, together with the Platæans and Megareans, and threatened to break off all further discussion, by demanding from them "why they were so impatient? The Spartan army was already on its march to the Isthmus."

Second evacuation of Athens, and occupation of it by the Persians.

Ol. lxxv. 2. (B.C. 479.)

Meanwhile they had attained to the complete fulfilment of their wishes. When Mardonius, who had united the troops of Artabazus with his own, advanced towards the south, the Athenians, unsupported by any aid from the confederates, were unable to defend their frontiers. After having been in possession of their native land for nine months, they had again to relinquish it, and once more to undergo all the sufferings of emigration, while in Sparta the festival of the Hyacinthia was being celebrated in all comfort. About the middle of July Mardonius announced by signals of fire to Sardes the second occupation of Athens; but he spared the country. He still hoped for a change in the sentiments of the Athenians; he could not but think that the treacherous conduct of Sparta would exercise an influence favourable to his wishes. He therefore once more sent an envoy from Athens to Salamis, the Hellespontian Murychides, whose pro-

posals were so acceptable that even Lycides—apparently an Attic Areopagite—declared himself in their favour, and demanded that a motion in accordance with them should be submitted to the citizens. But scarcely had this vote become known to the multitude waiting outside than the people surrounded the unhappy man and stoned him to death, while the women rushed into the house of Lycides and stoned his wife and children. So fanatical was the ardour on behalf of their freedom which continued to animate this homeless community: any idea of negotiation was accounted base treason against the nation. CHAP. I.

Mardonius in Bœotia.

When Mardonius found that every chance of reconciliation was frustrated, he unsparingly in the view of the fugitive Athenians devastated their whole country, and then, after causing a detachment of skirmishers to advance as far as Megara, passed back over the Cithæron into Bœotia, in order to let the decisive battle take place in a country favourable for the employment of cavalry and on friendly terms with himself. In the meadows of the valley of the Asopus, on the frontiers of Platææ, he caused a quadrilateral camp of great strength to be pitched. In his rear he had Thebes, where a vast store of supplies had been accumulated, and immediately in his front the passes into Attica and the Isthmus. With the exception of the Phocians, who maintained their independence in Parnassus and made bold raids down into the plains, all Central Greece had done homage to him. The closest connexion with him had been formed by Thebes. Here the ruling families endeavoured to establish relations of the greatest possible intimacy with the Persian grandees; they attached great importance to the headquarters of the Persian forces being in their country; the wealthy Attaginus entertained the foreign generals as his guests. Persians and Thebans lay in confidential intercourse round the same tables; the ancient distinction between Hellenes and Barbarians seemed to have disappeared; and Mardonius naturally already

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fancied himself the satrap of a country incorporated with the Persian empire.

Position of the armies on the Asopus.

Meanwhile the Peloponnesians had united with the Athenians in Eleusis. The commander-in-chief of both was Pausanias, who led the army as regent in the place of Plistarchus, the son of Leonidas, and a minor. Pausanias was a man of lofty ambition, full of genius and versatility of mind: under him were 5,000 Spartiatæ, every one of whom was accompanied by seven helots, and 5,000 Lacedæmonians, the latter also heavy-armed troops. In addition to these the army was composed of the following:—from Peloponnesus 1,500 Tegeates, 5,000 Corinthians (who were followed by 300 Potidæans), 600 Orchomenians, 3,000 Sicyonians, 600 Epidaurians, 1,000 Trœzenians, 200 Lepreatæ, 400 Achæans from Mycenæ and Tiryns, 1,000 Phliasians, 300 Hermioneans, 1,000 from Eubœa, 1,500 from the western islands and coasts (Ambracia, Leucas, Anactorium, Cephallenia), 500 Æginetans, 3,000 Megareans, 600 Platæans, and lastly 8,000 Athenians. They numbered in all 38,700 heavy-armed foot-soldiers, and 69,500 light-armed, with the addition of 1,800 light-armed troops from Thespiæ. It was a considerable army, such as Hellas assembled on no subsequent occasion; but it contained no cavalry, for all the peoples who fought on horseback were on the side of the Persians. Hence the army of the confederates had to guard itself against descending into the plains, and took up its position on the declivity of the range of mountains which unites Mounts Cithæron and Parnes, from Hysiæ to Erythræ, opposite the Persian encampment, and here awaited the attack of the enemy.

Mardonius lost no time in displaying the strength of his army in all its splendour. He sent all his cavalry, under their commander Macistus, forward over the Asopus, in order to assault the lower positions of the confederates. The Megareans were subjected to particular pressure: they calmly held their ground, but sent a message to the commander-in-chief that

they must be relieved if they were not to be annihilated. Pausanias passed the question round the army as to which contingent would occupy this dangerous post. All were silent; the Athenians alone immemediately expressed their readiness to offer themselves for the struggle in the van of the battle. Olympiodorus led a band of 300 chosen soldiers to the endangered position, taking with him a body of archers. Fortune favoured the brave. For when the bands of cavalry, who charged with derisive confidence, were received by a shower of well-aimed arrows, the horse of Macistus, with its gold trappings, fell to the ground, dragging with it its rider, whose body after a violent struggle remained in the hands of the Greeks. Seized by terror, the enemy fled in utter disorder; and the ardour of the Greeks was in no slight degree raised by this success.

The Greeks shift their position to Platææ.

While in the Persian camp the fallen cavalry-general, one of the noblest of the whole army, was bewailed in wild accents of grief, the confederates resolved to change their position. They marched in a westward direction past Hysiæ into the territory of the city of the Platæans, to the spring of Gargaphia. Here they had a more abundant supply of water; and in Platææ they possessed a suitable basis of operations, while before them extended a broader space of open country, in which they placed their line, fronting towards the east, from the spring of Gargaphia, where Pausanias stood with his right wing, down into the valley of the Asopus, where the Athenians encamped. To the right wing the Persians were opposed; to the left, the Greek auxiliaries of the Persians; to the centre of the Peloponnesian and Eubœan contingents, the Medes, Bactrians, and Indians. In this position the armies confronted one another for a period of ten days. A constant succession of attempts was made by the Persians to induce single divisions of the confederates to come over to them. The friends of Mardonius at Thebes and among his Persian advisers, above all the

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wise Artabazus, the son of Pharnaces, were still of opinion that the different communities ought to be induced by presents of money to withdraw their troops. Slight skirmishing expeditions were undertaken, and bodies of cavalry sent out, to fall, under the guidance of the Thebans, upon the columns which were bringing supplies from Peloponnesus over Cithæron. Courage was however wanting for the commencement of a battle, and Mardonius himself made anxious inquiries every morning as to the answers of the Greek soothsayers in his camp. At last the pressure of circumstances became too strong. The army of the confederates increased day by day; the Persians began to suffer from the want of necessaries; and now Mardonius, seized with uncontrollable impatience, determined, in spite of the contrary advice of Artabazus, to cross the Asopus for the decisive attack. Alexander of Macedonia sent information the night before to the Athenians of the attack awaiting them.

Commencement of the battle.

These news produced extreme disturbance in the Greek army. The Spartans demanded that the Athenians should occupy the right wing, because they had already on a previous occasion been opposed to the Persians. The Athenians conceded the point without disputing it; but when the enemy made a corresponding change in the disposition of his troops, the Greeks again respectively resumed their previous positions. The Persians, encouraged by such signs of fear and irresolution, attacked with greater confidence, inflicted considerable damage upon the whole Greek line of battle, and even filled up the spring of Gargaphia so as to render it useless. Pausanias accordingly deemed it impossible to maintain his position. He issued his orders to the army to advance still further to the west as soon as night came on, and to take up a position between the small rivulets whose confluence below Platææ forms the little stream of Oëroë, where there was abundance of water, and where the slippery

soil promised a certain amount of protection against the cavalry. But these orders were not obeyed. They met with the most vehement resistance among the Spartans themselves. Amompharetus remained with the Pitanatæ in the vicinity of the Gargaphia, while the troops of the centre, instead of making an orderly retreat to the appointed place, fled back as far again, and thus fell completely in the rear of the line. Meanwhile the Athenians had calmly remained at their post, waiting to see how the general confusion would end. CHAP. I.

Battle of Platææ. *Ol.* lxxv. 2. (B.C. 479.) *End of September.*

Thus it is probable that the day of no other battle ever broke under more unfortunate circumstances. All three divisions had lost their connexion with one another, and partly that between their own component bodies. Not until the approach of morning was Pausanias able to re-form the right wing. It was still on the march when the Persians commenced an impetuous charge. For after all it was an advantageous consequence of the disturbance and want of resolution among the confederates, that, when the Persians in the morning perceived the retreat, they regarded it entirely in the light of a flight, and thought they had nothing to do but to commence a rapid pursuit in order to prevent the Greeks from effecting their escape across the mountains. Accordingly there ensued an irregular attack, in which the whole strength of the army failed to take part. The whole weight of the assault now threw itself upon the Spartans; who, since the centre had fallen back, had no other aid to look for than from the Athenians. But the latter, ready to hasten to effect a union with them, were attacked from the direction of the Asopus by the Bœotians and other Medizing Greeks (said to have been about 50,000 in number), and involved in a severe struggle; and thus the Spartans and Tegeatæ were left to themselves. For a time they remained on the defensive and allowed the showers of arrows to fall upon them, shot by the Persians over the barrier which

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they had formed around themselves by means of their shields of wickerwork. Thus many brave men fell without ever having been able to take part in the fight. At last signs favourable to an attack presented themselves. The soldiers, whose patience had been so sorely tried, joyously received the order to advance with their lances couched; the barrier of shields was thrown down, and the Persians rushed upon the spears of the Greeks. Man against man they fought in a dense hand-to-hand struggle, and streams of blood poured round the temple of Demeter. At last the combat was decided by the heavy armour and calm daring of the Spartans; the Persians gave way: and when Mardonius himself, struck on the head by a stone thrown by Aeimnestus, fell to the ground, all resistance was at an end. In confused flight the enemy pressed down the slippery declivities towards the Asopus, in order with all possible speed to gain the gates of the camp. Below stood masses of soldiers who had as yet taken no part in the fight. Here stood Artabazus, who had accompanied Xerxes in his flight to the Hellespont, with 40,000 fresh troops. But, instead of beginning a new battle on the Asopus, he, as soon as he became aware of the flight, commenced his retreat in a northward direction: he wished to hurry in advance of the news of the Persian defeat and the impression it would create, so as not to suffer from the revolt of the Greek tribes.

When the Spartans reached the camp, the Athenians were still engaged in the heat of the fight; for the Bœotians fought with desperate courage under the leadership of the Theban aristocrats, whose whole future was staked on the issue: it was a struggle of the most vehement party-fury. At last Aristides succeeded in hurling back the ranks of the foe; and before the gate of the Persian camp now met the two brave wings of the army, each of whom had carried its own battle to a successful issue. The cowardice of the centre met with its punishment when the Megarean

and Phliasian troops, who only reappeared after hearing the news of the victory, were fallen upon and greatly damaged by the Theban horsemen. CHAP. I.

As soon as the Athenians came upon the Spartans, who stood before the walls of the camp in ignorance of what they ought to do next, the entrenchments were mounted, the gates opened, and a sanguinary rout of the Persians, crowded together within their own walls, ended this arduous day of battle.*

Dispute among the allies settled by Aristides

This time Athens and Sparta had both proved themselves the leading champions of Hellas. The decisive blow had at the first and at the last, in the cavalry skirmish and in the capture of the fortifications, been struck by the Athenians; they had always been ready to occupy the post of supreme danger, and alone among all the contingents had from beginning to end maintained strict order and discipline. On the other hand, the Spartans laid claim to the prize of honour, because they had gained the victory over the central body of the enemy's troops: and the extraordinary exertions which they had made for this expedition, as well as the wonderful performances of individual Spartiatæ, influenced the army of the confederates in their favour. Under these circumstances the joy over the great victory and the feeling of gratitude for the marvellous salvation of the land were disturbed by the jealousy among the confederates; the most disastrous dissensions threatened to break out, had not Aristides once more proved himself the good genius of the Athenians and of the Hellenes. It was he who in this instance was again able to induce the Greeks to listen to the demands of an unselfish patriotism and a higher morality. To him it was owing that his ambitious colleagues, particularly Leocrates and Myronides, assented to the conciliatory proposal of Cleocritus of Corinth, to award the prize of honour neither to Athens nor to Sparta, but to Platææ. And certainly none could grudge this mark of recognition to the little

* See Note XV. Appendix.

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community of citizens who had shown so unchangeable a devotion to the cause of freedom. They had fought at Marathon; they, although ignorant of naval matters, had stood on Attic ships at Artemisium; and now, after the greatest sacrifices on their part, on their soil and under the protection of their national heroes, the final struggle had been successfully fought out.

Transactions and resolutions on the battlefield of Platææ.

Thus the sanguinary battle had been followed by another victory, almost harder to obtain, in the Greek camp itself; the rich booty was collected according to a common agreement, and divided into the shares due to the gods, the generals, and the soldiers. For the first time the whole pomp of the luxurious East here unfolded itself before the eyes of the Greeks; it was the apparatus of a royal court which Xerxes had left behind to his successor: a harem of women and eunuchs, a court-kitchen and stud, costly tents and furniture, heaps of coined gold, and male and female slaves fell into the hands of the conquerors; and Pausanias had good reason to ridicule the folly of men who, while able to enjoy all this splendour, yet engaged in expeditions to attack the Hellenes in the poverty of their mountains.

Next ensued the solemn burial of those who had fallen, and the expiation of the land, fresh and pure sacrificial fire being procured from Delphi. Of greater importance were measures of permanent significance.

The Platæans had wholly identified their interests with those of the Athenians. It is related that, in accordance with a proposal of Aeimnestus, they had resolved to incorporate their territory with Attica, for this reason, that Aristides was said to have obtained an oracle from Delphi to the effect that the Athenians would only obtain the victory on their own land. This proposed self-annihilation of a free Hellenic city, and the consequent enlargement of the Attic territory, necessarily gave offence; nor could Aristides desire the work of peace, to which he devoted himself with perfect

single-mindedness, to be ruined on account of it. On the other hand, these faithful allies must not be left as a prey to the attacks of their implacable neighbours, the Thebans; and measures had become necessary for ensuring the permanent security of their city. Hence it was an excellent way of meeting the difficulty, when it was resolved to declare the vicinity of the city, as the scene of the glorious victory, a sacred and inviolable territory, the defence of which should be regarded as a religious obligation incumbent upon all the Hellenes.

Accordingly this territory became a new centre of the Hellenes, to the common protection of which against any attack all the states of the confederation were pledged, so that the question could never again arise of confining the national defence to the southern peninsula, while a guarantee was at the same time obtained for the security of the frontiers of the Attic territory. Platææ itself retained perfect independence; the city was rebuilt, and before its gates a national sanctuary of Zeus the Liberator founded, at whose altar the festival of thanksgiving and victory was annually to be renewed, accompanied every fourth year by special solemnities, by games and the distribution of prizes. While all the confederate states were to take part in this festival by deputies sent from the communities, and by festive embassies, upon the Platæans was bestowed the special office of honour of providing for the burial-places of the fallen warriors, and of annually celebrating their memory by sacrifices and prayers. Finally, a new confederate military constitution was also agreed upon; and it was determined that a confederate force of 10,000 infantry, 1,000 horse, and 100 vessels of war should always hold itself in readiness for the defence of the common country. Doubtless the distribution of the burdens of war, and the question as to the command of the forces, were settled at the same time.

All these measures, which renewed the confederation established on the Isthmus, were resolved upon, in the

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Renewal of the Isthmian confederation.

name of the whole nation, by the assembled contingents of the army as a Hellenic national assembly; and it was Aristides who, as the man in whom all put confidence, made a union of the kind possible: on his motion the decrees were passed which gave to the hard-won victory its real value and significance.

March upon Thebes.

The last act of the assembled army was the expedition against Thebes, in order, according to the obligation incumbent upon them, to take revenge on the most obstinate ally of the national enemy. Eleven days after the battle Pausanias appeared before the city and demanded the surrender of the party-leaders responsible for the policy of Thebes. Not until the siege had lasted twenty days was the surrender obtained. Meanwhile Attaginus had effected his escape. Timagenidas and the other leaders of the Thebans were executed as traitors against the nation by order of Pausanias, after he had dismissed the confederate army.

The victory of Platææ was the first and decisive victory of the whole war; for Marathon and Salamis had only broken the courage of the enemy, while here his power, together with that of his allies, was annihilated. Therefore the day of Platææ is the real day of the salvation of Hellas; the danger has passed away: and thus ends a decennium of Greek history which far surpasses all its previous periods in events of an extraordinary nature and of momentous results.

The traditions of the Persian wars.

These events were not accompanied by any contemporaneous historical account. For nearly a generation they remained left to oral tradition; the narratives connect themselves with dedicatory offerings and burial-places, and the poets busied themselves, not only with adorning the individual monuments with significant inscriptions, but also with glorifying the deeds of the Wars of Liberation. The different civic communities eagerly sought to obtain the poems of a Simonides, in

order to find in them a testimony of their own participation in these wars. Hence there was no lack, but on the contrary a wealth, of tradition, when Herodotus, about forty years after the battle of Marathon, began to note down the history of the Persian wars: this tradition, however, was neither complete nor entirely impartial and trustworthy. For a people so full of fancy as the Greeks is by nature ill adapted for preserving in its memory a series of events unchanged and symmetrically arranged; it rather adheres to what is brilliant and great, forgetting the rest, and thus altering the character of history. Besides this must be taken into account the extraordinary excitement of the nation during the struggle and immediately afterwards, which was by no means favourable to a sober view and narrative of the events. Poetry contributed her part towards placing single days and deeds of fame in the brightest light, and by their memory edifying the national mind. CHAP. I.

The history of Herodotus.

Such was the tradition from which Herodotus, on whose narrative our knowledge of the Persian wars in the main depends, drew his materials. We shall accordingly be least of all able to accord him unconditional credit as to those points in which a perfectly certain relation is impossible without the aid of written notes, and as to which at the same time a great temptation existed towards mis-statement of the real facts. And this was particularly the case as to the numerical estimate of the hostile forces. On this head the Greeks were from the first uncertain; and as the national glory was increased by every exaggeration of the superior numbers of the foe, these numbers grew in the mouth of the people. The historian was without any accurate information from the side of the enemy, by which he might have corrected the exaggerations of his countrymen. But, on the other hand, in regard to his narrative of the historical events, the confidence reposed in it has increased in proportion to the attempts which have been made to enquire into ancient history from a

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wider point of view and on the basis of more accurate research. For although Herodotus displays a greater love of the marvellous and unusual in the developement of human destinies than is favourable to an impartial historical enquiry, yet an incorruptible love of truth and unwearying diligence in the investigation of the real facts of every case remain the leading features of his character. Although his work at an early period obtained great publicity, and even in ancient times was exposed to manifold cavils, yet it has been impossible to convict him of any essential errors or misstatements of fact. Internally the work bears the evident impress of perfect trustworthiness; and the single events appear before us in so natural a connexion, that we may recognise in Herodotus a perfectly valid authority, although we are not enabled to test his narrative of the Persian wars by the accounts of other contemporaries.

The history of Herodotus is no vainglorious work; he is far from representing the times of the Persian wars as a period of unmixed splendour and good fortune. He rather regards the earthquake which shook the island of Delos immediately before the battle of Marathon as a sign sent by the gods that a time was now at hand which in a few generations would bring more suffering and troubles upon the Hellenes than had occurred in twenty previous generations. Nor is Herodotus blind either against the praiseworthy characteristics of the enemy, or against the weaknesses of his countrymen. True, his ardour is great for Hellenic usage and morality where they manifest themselves in perfect purity, for Hellenic patriotism and love of liberty; he feels in all its force the difference between Greeks and Barbarians; he even believes the latter guilty of actions, the senseless character of which makes them appear utterly incredible. But how evident is it, from his work itself, that the glory of the Hellenes was nothing less than a general and unobscured glory! The fleet at

Artemisium was kept together by bribes; the ships at Salamis held their ground because they were forced to hold it; and at Platææ it was a chain of fortuitous circumstances which in the end obtained a decisive victory for the army, after it had broken up in disunion within itself. Plato was accordingly fully justified in observing, that in those famous wars occurred many things very little to the credit of the Greeks. Least of all, he adds, ought a national success on the part of the Hellenes to be spoken of, since it was only the union of the two leading states which at the last averted from Hellas the servitude which threatened it.*

Review of the history of the Persian wars.

Thus it is undeniable that, as the Greeks themselves were aware, a closer and impartial consideration must deprive the Persian wars of much of their glory. Yet the completeness of the Greek victory remains an incontestable fact, and must be the more surprising to us the less we deceive ourselves as to the want of concord, wisdom, and resolution on the part of the Greeks. On the side of the Persians was everything to ensure victory to them—measureless superiority in numbers, inexhaustible resources in money, and the bravest of troops, which served their military lord with perfect devotion. Sagacity and political knowledge were also at their command, such as were not to be found in a higher degree in the camp of the Greeks themselves. Had the counsels of Artemisia or Demaratus, who recommended a landing on Cythera, been adopted, or had the advice given by the Thebans to Mardonius, that he should separate the confederate Greeks by bribing their party-leaders, been acted upon, the Greeks would have been lost beyond all chance of salvation. But the Persians are, as it were, struck with blindness; they are equally incapable of taking advantage of their own strength and of the weakness of their adversaries, which, as is inevitably the case with a group of small republics, lay princi-

* See Note XVI. Appendix.

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pally in the want of endurance. Instead of quietly waiting till his disproportionately great exertions had exhausted the enemy, or forcing him to divide his forces by attacks directed against different points, the Persians allow the whole result of the war to depend on single battles, in which the ardour of the moment decided the day.

In the fighting itself, it was not valour which was victorious over cowardice, but rather the pliability of practised troops standing opposed to unwieldy masses, and the armour of bronze and the long spear which had the advantage over the insufficient weapons of defence and attack used by the Asiatics. Finally, two circumstances operated greatly to the disadvantage of the Persians under Xerxes and Mardonius: the first, that they allowed their fanaticism to carry them away with it, and, by destroying the holy places of the Greeks, roused the wrath of the nation to its height; they converted the conflict with the people into a conflict with its gods, and thus raised the courage of the Greeks, who now felt doubly assured of the assistance of their gods and of the justice of their cause. Afterwards, in the concluding phases of the struggle, the success of the Persian arms was hindered by the Persians having themselves lost confidence, and going to meet their fate in stolid discouragement. A trustworthy witness related to Herodotus that at the banquet of Attaginus (p. 301) a Persian lay at the same table who informed him, with many tears, that he clearly saw before his eyes the inevitable destruction of all his fellows, except a small remnant. These, he added, were the sentiments of many of his countrymen, who were forced to follow their prince; and no human lot equalled in sadness that of perceiving correctly the situation of affairs, and yet being unable to improve it. The commanders as well as the troops were obliged to recognise the superiority of the Hellenic strategy, so that they could no longer fight with their ancient assurance of victory.

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Their consequences.

The victory of the Greeks over the Persians was at the same time a victory of the constitutional states over despotism. The valour and virtue which were unable to develope themselves elsewhere as they had in the states of Greek citizens, had proved themselves on the field of battle. The vast hosts, belonging to one another only in so far as they were tribes of the same empire, had been routed by the armies of citizens held together by the sole bond of a community of laws; and on the side where there existed no lord and master, who possessed the unlimited command of life and death, there was more submission to superior authority, and more discipline and energy of action, than among the despotically governed Barbarians.

Not all constitutions, however, proved their excellence in the same degree, but only the citizen-states proper. For the oligarchies which had excluded themselves from the national movement the victory of the Greeks became a defeat and a deep humiliation. Nor had Sparta shown herself to be what the state in Greece best prepared for war had been expected to prove herself. She had always lagged behind; untrustworthy, self-seeking, and unpatriotic, even in opposition to the better feelings of her Peloponnesian confederates, such as found expression in such a representative as Chilèus. The Spartans had actually sacrificed their own king to their short-sighted and dishonest Isthmus-policy; and the motive which finally determined them to advance beyond the passes of the Isthmus was not pure patriotism, but rather the fear, of which they were still unable to rid themselves, of Athens joining the Persians. In the case of the Athenians, on the contrary, who from the first had been the single people which had firmly adhered to the pursuit of one great end, the constitution had fully proved itself a victory-giving power. Thus it had acquired new strength in Athens itself, and the victory over the Persians was at the same time a victory of democracy over aristocracy—a victory of Athens over

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Sparta. Even those who on principle opposed popular government had to acknowledge the greatness of democratic Athens: even Pindar was now obliged to add his voice to the rest; he had to bow down before facts, to hail Athens as the pillar of Hellas, and declare of the sea-fights off Artemisium, that in them the sons of the Athenians had laid the splendid foundation-stone of liberty.

The rout of the Persians saved Greece and her whole civilisation. For the question was not as to a more or less glorious result of the conflict, as to a rise or fall in the relative power of the combatants; it rather involved the annihilation or continuance of Greek life. The Persians would not have rested content with a mere recognition of their supreme sovereignty, as the destruction of the temples proves; and though Greek communities might have continued to exist, friends of the Persians would have ruled over them as Tyrants, and oppressed all freedom of spiritual life. But without this freedom it is impossible to conceive of any Greek religion, any Greek art and science,—in short, of any Greek life whatsoever. Thus the campaigns of the Persians ended in producing the reverse of what they were designed to effect. With a loftier pride than ever before, the Greeks recognised the contrast between themselves and the Barbarians; the idea of a common country had been once more revived, and instead of being chastised and humiliated, Hellas was never stronger, more united, or more conscious of victory, than on the battle-field of Platææ.

CHAPTER II.

THE GROWTH OF THE POWER OF ATHENS.

Views and conduct of Themistocles

DURING the changeful succession of events connected with the campaign in Attica and Bœotia, which terminated in the battle of Platææ, another theatre of war between Hellenes and Persians had long opened. Immediately after the flight of Xerxes, Themistocles had led the Attic ships into the Archipelago: he was burning to see the dominion which he had created develope itself; in his view the navy was to be not only a shield of defence, but also a sharp weapon for purposes of chastisement and conquest. Accordingly he had without delay, and at his own risk, and without consulting the other commanders, commenced measures for calling to account the lesser maritime states who had sent aid to the Persians.

With the pride of a lord and master he demanded the payment of penalties in money from the islanders. They were to lose no time in obeying, for on board his ships, as he declared, were two powerful divinities —Persuasion and Force; and whoever would not follow the former must submit to the latter. Andros ventured to defy him, and was in consequence besieged; while Paros, Carystus, and other island-cities, without demur paid the fines demanded, in order to escape the fate of the Andrians. A universal terror seized upon the islands, for whom the day of Salamis became the commencement of fresh troubles; while Themistocles, as the more fortunate successor of Miltiades, returned

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to Athens with ample stores of money. The citizens were aware of the extent to which their power had increased: they felt themselves great and powerful, although their houses, farms, and walls were a heap of ashes; although they could scarcely call the ground underneath their feet their own. Instead of timidly and anxiously husbanding their strength, they resolved, in any event, to send out their fleet in the coming year.

The Persians at Samos and Mycale.

The other states would not allow Athens to take the lead by herself. When the spring arrived, and Mardonius still stood in Thessaly, a fleet of 110 ships assembled at Ægina, under Leotychides and Xanthippus. Scarcely had they met, when the message was brought from the further shore that the Persian fleet of 300 sail lay off Samos to keep a watch on Ionia, that a land-army was being collected for the same purpose at Mycale, while Xerxes himself remained in the neighbourhood of Sardes, in order to await the final issue of Greek affairs. At the same time everything was reported to be in a state of agitation, while at Chios the revolt had already come to a head. It was only necessary that the fleet should show itself in the Ionian sea for the cities on the further side of it openly to join the Greeks.

Samos admitted into the confederation.

The fleet advanced as far as Delos. Here new messengers arrived. From Samos itself, the head-quarters of the enemy's forces, appeared envoys who implored the commanders to free their island from the yoke of the Barbarians, and from the Tyrant imposed upon them by the latter. Samos was received into the Hellenic alliance under the very eyes of the Persian fleet, which here once more lay opposite to the Greeks. Yet the Persians ventured upon no opposition, but (notwithstanding that their vessels outnumbered those of the Greeks in the proportion of three to one) retreated to the promontory of Mycale, under the protection of their land-army: the ships were drawn ashore, and surrounded with strong entrenchments. A feeling of perfect security prevailed, and it was

thought that here the advantages which had been momentarily sacrificed might be easily recovered.

Victory of Mycale. *Ol.* lxxv. 2. (B.C. 479.)

But the Greeks had no intention of leaving their work only half-done. Leotychides, who had finally given himself up to the impulses of Ionic rapidity and energy, resolved to pursue the enemy. The Persians marvelled to see the Greeks land on Mycale, disembark their troops, and, in spite of showers of arrows, advance against the fortified naval encampment. The Athenians, together with the Corinthians, Sicyonians, and Trœzenians, having the shortest distance to traverse, were the first to engage in a hand-to-hand fight with the Persians. They drove the latter back, and penetrated along with them into their camp. The defection of the Greek auxiliaries, particularly of the Milesians, who were to cover the retreat into the mountains—instead of which they led the receding land-troops in a false direction—contributed to complete the rout of the Persians, although they fought with distinguished bravery, and had on their side all the advantages of superior numbers and position. The two commanders, Tigranes and Mardontes, fell in the fight. The remnants of the army made their escape in wretched plight to Sardes, where Xerxes was holding his court, and awaiting the promised news of victory from Mardonius. While deeming himself the master of Greece, he beheld himself attacked and defeated in his own country; and his power was so utterly broken, that he was unable to prevent the open defection of the coast-land in the vicinity. In Greek story this bold and brilliant victory of Mycale was said to have been gained on the evening of the day on which the brethren of the victors fought at Platææ; nay, a rumour of the simultaneous victory was stated to have miraculously spread among the army, and to have encouraged it in the heat of the battle.

The advantages obtained by the Hellenes came upon them so unexpectedly as to find them totally unprepared, and accordingly embarrassed by their own

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victories. What was to be done with Ionia? Was the whole country to be admitted into the Hellenic confederation? Too great a responsibility would, in the opinion of the Peloponnesians, be incurred by such a step; for it would necessitate a Greek fleet being constantly on the watch, to protect the many single points of the coast, as soon as the Persians should again advance out of the interior after recovering their strength. It would be better to sacrifice the country, and establish the Ionians in settlements in other parts, at the expense of those who had favoured the Medes, *i.e.* of the Argives, Bœotians, Locrians, and Thessalians. Thus might be formed a strong Hellas, coherent and powerful in its unity. The Athenians, on the other hand, espoused the cause of the cities; they refused to acknowledge any right on the part of the Peloponnesians to interfere on the subject of Attic colonies, and decisively opposed all plans by which the best points of attack against Hellas would be thrown into the hands of the Persians. On the contrary, Ionia ought to be a bulwark against the Barbarians, and to belong to the Hellenes, if they were to retain undisturbed possession of the sea and their own shores. The Athenians found a support in the feeling prevalent among the Ionians, who were naturally opposed to any forced settlement. Accordingly, in the first instance, Samos, Lesbos, Chios, and a number of other island-towns, were admitted into the confederation; and after the Hellenes had only recently given up their own towns, contending, in the midst of the greatest dangers, for their homes in the most limited sense of the term, a considerable body of Persian subjects had now seceded to them; and a new Hellas was formed, a Greek empire comprehending both sides of the sea.

Discussions among the Greeks as to Ionia.

Winter campaign of the Athenians.

Considerations of caution made it necessary, above all, to secure the passages from Asia to Europe; for it was universally believed that the bridge over the Hellespont was either still in existence or had been restored. When it was found to have been destroyed,

the Peloponnesians urged the termination of the campaign, the unexpected results of which had carried them on against their will. The Athenians, on the other hand, declared themselves resolved to remain, in spite of the advanced season of the year, and not to leave unfinished what they had begun. Sestus, the strongest fortress on the Hellespont, ought not to be left in the hands of the enemy; an attack on it ought to be risked without delay, before the city had prepared for a siege. They allowed the Peloponnesians to take their departure, and under the command of Xanthippus united with the ships of the Ionians and Hellespontians for the purpose of new undertakings.* CHAP. II.

Fall of Sestus. *Ol.* lxxv. 2. (B.C. 478.)

They met with a more vigorous resistance than they had anticipated. Artayctes, the governor of the Chersonnesus, lay in Sestus with all his accumulated treasures, and prepared for a desperate resistance, in hopes that Persian troops would not fail to come to the relief of this important fortress. The winter supervened, and the Athenians grew weary of their unwonted exertions. But the commanders continued to keep up the requisite spirit among the troops, and soon their promises were fulfilled. The Persians were forced by famine to quit the city; a terrible revenge was wreaked upon Artayctes, the violator of Greek sanctuaries; the Chersonnesus was liberated, and ample spoils, among them the ropes of the bridge (which had been woven in Egypt), were carried home. Meanwhile the main point consisted in the Athenians having remained alone in the field, in their having fraternised with the Ionians as *one* naval power, and having after such successes attained to a confidence in victory, to which no enterprise any longer seemed either too distant or too difficult. Already they regarded their city as the centre of the coast-lands of Greece.

* Cf. Herod. ix. 114. For so long a term as a whole year (viii. 117) the destruction of the bridge could in no case remain a secret. According to Thuc. i. 89, the Peloponnesians never accompanied the Athenians to the Hellespont.

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Condition of Athens.

But what was the condition of this city of Athens itself? A few fragments of the ancient city wall, a few scattered houses, which had served the Persian commanders as their quarters, were yet standing; the rest was ashes and ruins. After the battle of Platææ the inhabitants had returned from Salamis, Trœzene, and Ægina; not even the fleet and its crews were at hand to afford them assistance. They endeavoured to make shift as best they could to pass through the trials of the winter.

Rebuilding of the city.

Ol. lxxv. 3. (B.C. 478.)

As soon as the spring arrived, the restoration of the city was commenced with all possible activity. All classes bestirred themselves in joyous rivalry. There was an ample supply of money and slaves; materials were brought in from all sides. It is intelligible how, after the painful agitation of the past years of homelessness and misery, the citizens must have longed to be able once more to dwell in their own city and to sit at their own hearths! But even now it was not the comforts of domesticity which occupied their thoughts, but, above all, the city as a whole, and its security. To Themistocles, the founder of the port-town, public confidence was in this matter properly accorded. To transplant the citizens of Athens to the Piræeus, as he would have preferred to do, was inadmissible on religious if on no other grounds. Nor was it possible, under the pressure of existing circumstances, to carry out a new and regular plan for the city; but it was resolved to extend its circumference beyond the circle of the ancient walls, the origin of which belonged to the time of the Pisistratidæ, or of Clisthenes, so as to be able, in case of a future siege, to offer a retreat to the country-population within the capital itself. The city walls were on the north side advanced into the plain; on the east side it is possible that the temple bounds of the Olympian Zeus were at this time, and not before, included within the limits of the city; on the south-west, on the other hand, along the rocky ridges which stretch in a long line in this direction, and which

were densely populated from an early age, the lines of wall were laid down which were to form a vast outwork, running to a point towards the side of the sea. The unwearying energy of Themistocles was employed to make the Athenians unwilling, notwithstanding the prevailing want of means and the pressing necessity of haste, merely to provide for the wants of the present, and desirous of seeing an essentially greater and stronger Athens rise immediately from the ruins, in order that the city itself, and the country of Attica at the same time, might be enabled to withstand future dangers of war in absolute independence and with full means of defence.*

The Peloponnesians hinder the building of the walls.

But the Athenians were not even to be permitted to build their walls undisturbed; for, as soon as their grand plan of operations became known, the envy and insidious jealousy of their neighbours broke out afresh. Particularly the maritime states in the vicinity beheld themselves passed in the race in an incredibly short time by Athens, whose power they with increasing anxiety saw establishing itself in the north and east of the Archipelago. By what means might its further extension be prevented?

Accordingly, the Peloponnesian states, above all Ægina and Corinth, hastened to direct the attention of Sparta to the situation of affairs. They besought the Spartans not to allow themselves to be deceived by the readiness to make concessions which Athens had hitherto displayed; when, in truth, the latter had only as long as it redounded to her own advantage recognised the federal leadership of Sparta. Soon the power of Athens would overtop that of all the other states; and then she would put an end to all semblance of subordination, and break up the constitution of the Hellenic confederation. At present Athens was still defenceless, and unable to

* As to the line of the city walls of Themistocles, cf. the author's *Attische Studien*, i. (*Abhandl. d. k. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen*), 1862, p. 60 ff.; as to the triangular outwork, ib. 61-65.

CHAP. II. reject the demands of Sparta; but as soon as her walls should have been completed, she would be for ever withdrawn from all influence of Spartan supremacy. The present, then, was the moment for action, while the future of Greece was still in Sparta's hands.

From their point of view, the enemies of Athens were perfectly justified; and as at Sparta city walls were objected to on principle, and as no doubts prevailed with regard to the fact that a well-fortified town was impregnable to the military art of the Peloponnesians, it was actually resolved at any price to prevent the building of the walls in Attica. But since it was inadmissible to publish the real motives of this interference, the Peloponnesians, in the clear interest of their native country, put forward the view, that the peninsula alone was adapted for a successful defence, and that a fixed system of defence, based on the experiences of the recent campaigns, ought once for all to be settled and determined. It was declared to have been ascertained, that it would have been impossible to hold Central Greece; in case of new dangers of war, every fortified place to the north of the Isthmus would only offer a dangerous base for the operations of the hostile forces, as had been experienced in the case of Thebes. The Peloponnesians were not ashamed, in open contradiction of the Platæan resolution, to publish these cowardly sentiments, and even to call upon the Athenians themselves to take part in the razing of all fortifications in Central Greece. Sparta caused herself to be commissioned with the execution of the new resolution, and, in the first instance, with making a most urgent demand upon Athens for the cessation of her building operations. The enemies of Athens had chosen a favourable moment. She was without means of resistance, in case a Peloponnesian army should invade Attica to carry out the resolution of the majority of the federal council; for she could not venture to hazard a battle in the open field with the Spartan

land-forces. Thus, then, the city of Athens, which had submitted to the bitterest privations and achieved the greatest deeds on behalf of the common country, was now, by the insidious guile of her jealous neighbours, placed in a situation of extreme peril, and made to run the risk of entirely losing her independence. CHAP. II.

Themistocles in Sparta. *Ol.* lxxv. 3. (B.C. 478.)

At such a crisis craft alone could be of avail. When the Spartans made their imperious demand at Athens, Themistocles ordered the immediate cessation of building operations, and, with assumed submissiveness, promised to present himself at Sparta, in order to pursue further negotiations in person. On his arrival there, he allowed one day after the other to go by, pretending to be waiting for his fellow-envoys, while at Athens, by his orders, all available hands, both the urban and the rural population, men and women, children and slaves, unwearyingly toiled at the erection of the great walls, employing for the purpose every kind of materials at hand, even tombstones. As soon as the wall had risen to such a height as to be capable of defence in case of necessity, the other envoys quitted Athens for Sparta. Themistocles even now continued with a bold front to deny the fact of the building of the walls; and when many disputes arose on the point, and contradictory reports reached Sparta, he at last called upon the Spartans to send trustworthy persons to Athens, in order that they might not judge according to the reports of travellers, but convince themselves as to the actual condition of affairs. For himself and his colleagues, he declared their readiness to remain behind at Sparta as hostages for the truth of his declarations.

The course thus suggested was actually adopted. When, however, the Spartan envoys arrived at Athens, they were detained there according to a preconcerted plan, in order in their turn to serve as hostages for the security of Themistocles. For as soon as the latter was informed of the successful execution of his designs,

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he threw off the mask, and openly declared that the Athenians, in the extremity of trouble, when deserted by all, had on two occasions sacrificed their city and country; and thus they had now also, in accordance with a resolution of their own, fortified their city with walls, a course which would be most highly advantageous both to themselves and to the whole of Greece; inasmuch as the confederation of Hellenic states was based on the principle of equal independence among all its members. The enemies of Athens saw that their design had been foiled, and were forced to put the best face upon their discomfiture, however bitterly they felt it. They now gave out that they had intended nothing beyond good advice; and in the end there was nothing to be done but to allow both the embassies to return home in peace.

Results of the exertions of Themistocles.

This somewhat transparent plot could not possibly have succeeded had not the authorities at Sparta been favourable to Themistocles; they had given way to the pressure of the confederates without seriously carrying out their resolution. From the time of his previous visit to Sparta, Themistocles must have had a considerable following there. But whatsoever were the means employed by him for the execution of his design, they were justified by the critical state of affairs and by the dishonesty of the adversaries of Athens, so that even Aristides unhesitatingly took part in the embassy. Its successful result stamped Themistocles as the second founder of his native city, as the establisher of her independence. Her future was secured; and henceforth she advanced on the path laid out for her, with regard both to her internal institutions and to the developement of her external power.

The walls of Athens.

Two years after the battle of Platææ the upper and lower city were enclosed by walls. For the building of the walls of the Piræeus, interrupted by the wars, had also been recommenced. The stone quarries of the peninsula supplied ample materials; and whilst the city walls displayed the most unmistakeable traces of

hurry in their erection, the works at the harbour were executed with greater care, and without any regard to expense. The walls were carried round the whole of the peninsula in a circumference of seven miles, following the bend of its rocky rim, and including the three harbour-bays. At the mouths of each of the harbours a pair of towers rose opposite to one another at so short a distance that it was possible to connect them by means of chains: these were the locks of the Piræeus. The walls, about sixteen feet thick, were built without mortar, of rectangular blocks throughout, and were raised to a height of thirty feet by Themistocles, who is said to have originally intended to give them double that height. This fortification, which enclosed the most precious of all the possessions of Athens, her ships, docks, and magazines for ships and naval stores, was to be a model establishment, and to make it possible, notwithstanding the vicinity of jealous maritime states, to give security to the Piræeus, even when occupied by an inconsiderable garrison.* CHAP. II.

The Piræeus.

The creation of the Piræeus was the pride of Themistocles, and next to the navy was the chief work which marked out Athens as a leading city. Accordingly Themistocles employed all the means in his power to advance the young town, and to people the empty spaces with useful inhabitants. In accordance with a proposal made by him, foreign artisans, skilled mechanicians and artists, were offered facilities of access, the poorer among them at all events being for a time absolved from the payment of the taxes which the state levied upon aliens residing under its protection.†

In an incredibly brief space of time Attica had

* Cf. Thuc. i. 93: τὸ ὕψος ἥμισυ μάλιστα ἐτελέσθη οὗ διενοεῖτο. Appian, *Mithr.* 30, states the height at 40 ells = 60 feet [in a passage where Ross (*Arch. Aufs.* i. page 293) wishes to read 14 ells = 21 feet]. Now as a height of 120 feet could not possibly have been intended, 60 feet is probably the height which was intended, but which as probably was never accomplished.

† Cf. Diod. xi. 43; a misconception according to Bœckh's *Publ. Economy of Ath.* ii. 46 (English edition).

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Administrative reforms.

entirely changed its aspect. A few years previously all had been desolate, and Athens herself almost razed off the face of the earth; now, as if by magic, two large towns had sprung into existence—scarcely an hour and a half's journey distant from one another—two citadels surrounded by a wide circle of walls, two civic communities rivalling with one another in industrial activity. The ancient administrative officers no longer sufficed; for the seaport, which had rapidly grown up out of foreign and extremely various elements, required a vigorous police. Accordingly the numbers of the officers were increased: separate officers of police (*Astynomi*) and of the market (*Agoranomi*) were nominated for the Piræeus; and similarly separate offices (those of the *Metronomi* and *Sitophylaces*) were established there for the superintendence of weights and measures, as well as of the corn trade. Further, it was necessary to create entirely new offices, which related purely to maritime affairs, partly to those of the commercial harbour (*emporium*), partly to those of the harbours of war; above all, an administrative authority was required, in whose hands should be all the materials of war, and which again, for the management of its extensive accounts, needed a staff of writers When the numbers of the war navy were to be filled up, separate committees were deputed for the purpose out of the body of the citizens; and these committees were in their turn assisted by other financial officers nominated for the purpose. Thus, since the new town had grown up by the side of the old, the sphere of public affairs had also become considerably enlarged in every direction.

Constitutional reforms proposed by Aristides.

(B.C. 478 *circ.*)

After the victories of Salamis and Platææ Athens also required a reform of her political constitution. The fears of the one party and the hopes of the other had been fulfilled. The city had been saved through the lofty patriotism of the entire population, through the courage and devotion of all classes. Poor and rich had emulated one another in the exercise of these

virtues, and the crisis which all had passed through in common had called forth a new fraternisation among all the citizens. Hence it was equitable that all should also have an equal share in civil honours and rights. Hitherto the statute of Solon had continued in force, according to which none but the members of the first property-class might fill the offices of honour in the state. This had now come to be a privilege which necessarily offended the just self-consciousness of the lower classes. It was the poor who, as the ships' crews, had contributed most largely to the victory. Moreover, several of the wealthy citizens had been impoverished by the events of the war; the landed proprietors, whose farms had been burnt down, had been the chief sufferers, and now ran the risk of suffering in their most sensitive point by the loss of their civil position. Hence we hear already in the camp of Platææ of treasonable intrigues and conspiracies against the constitution among the impoverished landed proprietors—movements the danger of which had only been obviated by the presence of mind displayed by Aristides.*

But personal property in Attica had in general gradually attained to so high an importance, that it was impossible for real property to remain, as Solon had ordained, the sole standard of wealth and pledge of trustworthy loyalty (vol. i. p. 331). Aristides, who was in the full sense of the word "the just," because, instead of adhering to immutable ordinances, he recognised true justice to consist in the maintenance of a due ratio between the institutions of the state and the developement of society—Aristides saw clearly the necessity of constitutional reform, and himself made a motion before the people, which tended to give the citizens of all the four classes of property an equal right to fill the offices of state. This he was enabled to do without deserting his political principles, inasmuch as he was convinced that in thus acting he was

* Cf. Plutarch, *Aristid.* 13.

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not offending against the spirit of the legislation of Solon—that the great legislator himself had not intended to erect these barriers for all times, but that he too had looked forward to the equalisation of civil rights as simultaneous with the progress of political maturity and efficacy. It was the duty of a wise legislation to anticipate in this matter the pressing claims of the lower classes of the population, and Aristides acted wisely in not leaving this step towards the developement of the constitution to Themistocles and his partisans; for he thus proved that the "moderate" citizens also, as whose leader he was regarded, comprehended the spirit of the times, and acknowledged the claims of all the citizens to an equal share in the rights of sovereignty.

Relative positions of Athens and Sparta.

Thus the first years after the battles of Platææ and Mycale had passed away. The settlement of internal affairs, the rebuilding of the cities which had been destroyed, and above all the quarrel which had again separated the confederation of the Hellenes, only a short time after its revival, into two hostile parties which all but broke out into open war—all these transactions had so completely occupied the attention of the Greeks, that it had been impossible to think of common undertakings abroad. It was fortunate that the Persians remained inactive and lacked the courage for employing this period for a new advance. At last the affairs of the confederation were externally restored to order. After the Peloponnesians had failed in their attempt to raise Sparta to the position of the one great power in Greece, it became necessary for Sparta to guard her authority as a federal capital by the side of Athens; a task of considerable difficulty, as had been clearly shown by the superior energy and resolute readiness to take the lead displayed by the Athenians at Sestus (p. 321).

Meanwhile the situation of Sparta was by no means unfortunate. After all, she had gloriously and successfully stood at the head of the military and naval

forces of the Greek nation; a position such as Sparta had never before occupied, and by which she had been led to put forth her unmeasured claims. Her hegemony by land and sea had been solemnly confirmed in the new legal system of the confederation; and she was ruled by two energetic Heraclidæ, the victors of Platææ and Mycale, who seemed to be the right men to guard the honour of Sparta. Pausanias in particular was full of great plans; and in proportion as he chafed under the fetters which the Ephors at home placed upon his ambition, he impatiently sought for an opportunity of gaining fresh glory and influence in the field. In the third year after the battle of Platææ he appeared in Thessaly, doubtless in order to effect a settlement of affairs there, and to assert the hegemony of Sparta. It may have been at that time that there were brought home from Thermopylæ the remains of Leonidas, for whose son, Plistarchus, Pausanias acted as regent.* CHAP. II.

The confederate fleet under Pausanias.

At last it had become possible to carry out by means of combined efforts the resolutions agreed upon at Platææ, and to continue the liberation of the Hellenic towns. For this purpose the Peloponnesians furnished twenty ships, and the Athenians thirty, under the command of Aristides and Cimon. These were accompanied by the ships of the Ionians in considerable numbers, so that the total may have amounted to about 100 vessels—the number fixed in the resolutions passed at Platææ. The supreme command over the whole confederate fleet was in the hands of Pausanias. It probably set sail in the spring of 476 (Ol. lxxv. 4), while contemporaneously the other king, Leotychides, continued the campaigns in Thessaly, in order to break the power of the Aleuadæ, who had made common cause with the national enemy to the very last.† *Ol.* lxxv. 4. (B.C. 496.)

* † See Notes XVII. and XVIII. Appendix.

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On this occasion the Greeks had not to sail in search of a fleet which disputed with them the command of the sea; they possessed the advantage of being able to select the locality of their operations; and the rapid movements of the fleet prove how their leaders, and particularly the commander-in-chief, deemed no enterprise promising success either too bold or too distant. It was not considered sufficient to have freed the Archipelago of the foe; it was further desired to prevent the return of the Barbarians, and to close against them the routes by land and sea on which they had formerly advanced upon Europe. Accordingly the operations of the Greeks were simultaneously directed towards the Bosporus in the north, and towards Cyprus in the south.

Partial liberation of Cyprus.

Cyprus has, on account of its situation and vast resources, ever been a possession indispensable for any of the powers of the East aspiring to the command of the Mediterranean. If the Greeks succeeded in firmly establishing themselves here, they would not only obtain priceless advantages for their own navigation and trade, but also interrupt the maritime connexion between Persia and Egypt. From Cyprus every new armament on the Syro-Phœnician coast might be effectually hindered. The Persians had placed strong garrisons in the towns of the island, and the princes governing there endeavoured, in the interests of their dynasties, to suppress any tendency in favour of the Hellenes. The confederates succeeded, notwithstanding, in the course of a few months, in despoiling the Persians of a large part of the island. The resources of the Greeks were insufficient for its liberation in its entirety; and it was accordingly resolved, before the north winds of the latter part of the summer should supervene, to sail to the waters of the Pontus, and here to attack the Persians in their most important possessions while their attention was still concentrated upon the sea of Cyprus.

By means of the capture of Sestus the route across

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the Hellespont was closed against the Persians, but on the upper sound Byzantium, with its supremely excellent harbour of war, was still in their hands. Byzantium was more strongly fortified than Sestus, and the Persians felt so sure in their possession of the former place, that they had not only deposited in it large stores of treasures, but also made it one of the head-quarters of their troops, and the place of sojourn of many Persians of the highest rank. The Greeks found the garrison wholly unprepared, and before the treasures could be saved and the relatives of the Great King effect their escape, the Greeks had mounted the walls of Byzantium, where endless booty fell into their hands.

Capture of Byzantium. *Ol.* lxxv. 4. (B.C. 476.)

Such a piece of fortune was too great for Pausanias' powers of self-restraint. He was a man of unmeasured ambition, and the desire for unlimited sovereignty, which perpetually recurs in the race of the Heraclidæ, was the real motive of his actions. His character had openly displayed itself, when he dared to make personal and nominal mention of himself on the golden tripod which the confederates dedicated at Delphi after the victory of Platææ, as the conqueror of the Persians and the giver of the gift: this amounted to a rude violation of Hellenic usage; and he had in consequence been forced to undergo the humiliation of seeing this inscription removed by the anthorities, while in its place were substituted simply the names of the states which had taken part in the battle. He had shown further signs of arbitrary disposition on the occasion of the condemnation of the Theban popular leaders (p. 310); and altogether had by his conduct exposed himself to much hostility, and to a jealous supervision on the part of the Ephors. But every instance of opposition, every personal offence, merely contributed to increase the irritation of his passionate temperament. The view of the glories of the life of an Oriental prince which had been first opened to him in the Persian camp on the Asopus

Treason of Pausanias.

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had inflamed the impure cravings of his heart; and now, when after his victories in Greece he had also victoriously traversed all the waters from Syria to the Pontus as high-admiral of the fleet, he lost all moderation; the idea of having at home to submit once more to the control of the Ephors became less and less supportable to him, and he resolved at any price to put an end to these irksome relations. But he desired to be absolute lord and master, not only at Sparta, but in all Hellas. For this purpose he needed the support of a non-Hellenic power, and in proportion as the conviction gained upon him that the present system of states was untenable, he ceased to hesitate about entering into an understanding with the national enemy, in order to attain to the fulfilment of his selfish ambition.

Byzantium was the most suitable place for maturing these plans. Pausanias attached a certain Gongylus of Eretria to his person as a confidential follower, named him commander of the conquered city, and entrusted to his care the noblest among the prisoners, directing him at the same time to allow them to escape unhurt. As soon as this had been effected, he wrote to Xerxes, declaring it to be the chief wish of his heart to confer an obligation upon the Great King, and aid the latter in subjecting Greece to his sway. Xerxes most gratefully acknowledged the preservation of his relatives, and eagerly entered into the plans of Pausanias. In order to continue the course of negotiations, Artabazus was placed as satrap in Mysia; the same general who at Platææ had in vain advised against giving battle, and whose view that the Greeks must be conquered by means of Greeks—*i.e.* by means of negotiation and corruption—had found a readier acceptance than ever since the ill-fortune of Mardonius; so that at the present moment Artabazus was in full favour with the Great King.

With this designation of Artabazus as negotiator with extensive powers was involved the commence-

ment of a fresh attack upon the independence of Greece—an attack carried on by means of the most dangerous of weapons; and Greek affairs might have taken the most disastrous turn had Pausanias possessed more self-restraint for the execution of his schemes. But when he held in his hand the letters sealed with the royal signet, and saw the mightiest prince in the world treating with him on a footing of equality, he lost all command over himself. He felt as if he were already the son-in-law of the Great King, and his vicegerent in the European provinces. He displayed his designs with audacious frivolity; revelled in Persian pomp of dress and banquetings, on his journeys in Thrace caused himself to be accompanied by Egyptian and Median body-guards, treated his soldiers with imperious arrogance, and gave way to the most revolting whims and fancies habitual to Tyrants. The consequence was the creation of discontent in the army, which rose to the most violent indignation—above all among those who felt most keenly for liberty and civil equality, *i.e.* among the Ionians and Athenians. CHAP. II.

Division of the confederate fleet.

From the first the Ionians were entirely antipathetic to the Spartans, whose rough manners were as disagreeable to them as their hard and unintelligible dialect. The Ionians regarded the Athenians as their natural leaders, and the attraction of community of race which drew them in this direction was further increased by the personal character of the Attic generals. In prominent relief against the intolerable arrogance of the Spartan prince stood forth the character of Aristides, the simple citizen, ever the same, ever gentle, calm, and impartial, and animated only by the great interests of the patriotic struggle. And by his side they beheld Cimon, a man of munificent liberality and knightly grace, friendly and courteous with all. The amiable character of these men was recognised with double admiration, since they proved to be the leaders to

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whose knowledge of affairs and energy of action all the successes of the naval campaigns were principally due. From them, then, on this occasion also the Ionians sought protection against the iniquities of the new Tyrant; and the Athenians were wise enough not to turn a deaf ear to their representations, but to aid them by advice and active interference, holding themselves to be additionally justified in this line of conduct, inasmuch as they regarded the towns of Ionia as their colonies, to watch over whose interests was a sacred duty incumbent upon Athens. But above all the Athenians had to take care lest the changeable Ionians should under the influence of their grievances fall away from the common cause. Thus a division arose among the Greek army; and two fleets came to be formed, one an Ionico-Attic, and the other a Spartano-Peloponnesian; so that Pausanias was no longer commander-in-chief except in name.

Recall of Pausanias.

Meanwhile rumours of the iniquitous conduct and tyrannical arrogance of the regent had reached Sparta. The Ephors accordingly summoned him home to give an account of himself; and since he still lacked the means for entering upon an open resistance, he was forced to obey the summons. Probably the Peloponnesian squadron also returned with him; and it is also likely that the Ephors in the interest of their state considered it advisable simultaneously to break off the whole campaign, and that, after taking their measures accordingly, they expected the dispersion of the fleet. This measure, however, produced a totally different and extremely important result. The split which had been preparing now became patent; the Athenians and Ionians, in consequence of their mutual understanding, remained together, and, after the departure of Pausanias, Athens formally assumed the command of the ships which had stayed behind.

The Ephors after the first surprise endeavoured to repair their error; they sent a successor of Pausanias to the fleet with ships and crews, but when Dorcis

(this was his name) arrived, the new order of things had been so completely settled in the interval, that the hegemony was found to have definitely passed into the hands of Athens. Nor would Aristides and Cimon, even had they most intently desired it, have been able to alter the situation of affairs. Nothing therefore remained for Dorcis, but either to submit to the leadership of Athens or to return home. He naturally chose the latter alternative.

Return of Dorcis.

The disgraceful return of the commander-in-chief, and the unexpected results following upon it, called forth great indignation at Sparta. The treaties had been broken, the system of the Hellenic confederation destroyed, and the authority of Sparta as a federal capital, which had been so brilliantly revived in the last few years, had been most rudely violated. It was necessary either speedily to restore it, or to renounce it for ever. Nor were men wanting among the Dorian people who advocated a march of the Peloponnesian troops upon Athens, in order to demand satisfaction and to restore the ancient federal system by force of arms. Another view, however, soon asserted itself: this was the view of the elder and less rash among the Spartans, whose mouthpiece was Hetœmaridas, a member of the council of the Gerontes, and a Heraclide by descent. He and those who shared his views had always been of opinion that there was nothing so dangerous for their city as a participation in enterprises with remote objects in distant regions, where the citizens, removed from all superintendence on the part of the authorities, were by association with the Ionians, those lovers of innovation, exposed to every kind of temptation. They regarded the command of the fleet as involving incomparably more danger than advantage for Sparta; for all honour and profit cost too dear if on their account the state was diverted from its regular course and its citizens corrupted. As a sufficient proof of this they pointed to the example of Pausanias. The

Views of the peace-party at Sparta.

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injury which had been done to the honour of Sparta was her punishment for the dereliction of the principle of calm moderation and restraint. The land-army was the real source of the greatness of Sparta, in proportion as Athens directed her attention to the rule of the sea. At the present moment the resources of Sparta were insufficient for an act of vengeance against Athens. Any attempt in the nature of force would only result in making the rupture of the federal system irretrievable, while, on the other hand, by means of peaceable negotiations Sparta might be able, though resigning the command of the naval war, to bate no point of her rights.

Transfer of the naval hegemony from Sparta to Athens.

Ol. lxxvi.3. (B.C. 474 *circ.*)

The peace-party prevailed. A consolation was probably also found in the idea that no actual transfer of the hegemony from Sparta to Athens had taken place; but that Athens had merely, at the desire and in the name of Sparta, undertaken the further conduct of the war and the leadership of the Ionian allies.*

In Athens the development of the crisis had been awaited with extreme anxiety; and its peaceable solution, to which Aristides and his friends had doubtless contributed, amounted to a triumph for the party of the Moderates, whose political aim was no other than the full developement of the Attic power without a rupture with Sparta. The very end which formerly was to have been achieved by a reckless application of force had now been accomplished by the tranquil course of events, without any violence or civil war. According to the most probable calculation, Ol. lxxvi. 3 (474 B.C.) may be regarded as the first year in which Athens possessed the hegemony by sea, an honour well deserved by the citizens who had fought in the van at Artemisium

* As to Hetœmaridas, cf. Diod. xi. 50. The transfer of the hegemony of the allies took place at the same time as the recall of Pausanias: cf. Thuc. i. 95. Had nothing occurred besides the recall of Pausanias, a successor to him would have been immediately appointed. Because the fleet had returned with Pausanias, Dorcis was subsequently despatched at the head of a new army.

and Salamis, by the vindicators of the independence of Greece.* CHAP. II.

The new confederation in the Archipelago.

The more difficult task remained behind. It was imperatively necessary to establish an organisation for the new confederation, and to form out of many dissimilar and scattered coast-places a naval power able to withstand all desires of conquest on the part of the Persians, and to protect the wide boundaries of its maritime dominion. The confidence with which the Athenians addressed themselves to this vast task proves that they had long been quietly preparing themselves for a position of the kind. And doubtless, from the time of Solon, all statesmen who saw further into the future recognised the mission of Athens in her being destined at some future period to unite under her leadership the islands of the Ægean. On the other hand, a great diversity of opinion prevailed as to the manner in which Athens was to rule. Some, among them Miltiades and Themistocles, considered that the decision ought to belong to the mere right of the stronger; and that no permanent result could be achieved except by disarming and subjecting the islands. This view necessarily met with a decisive opposition among all the members of the moderate party, and Themistocles was accordingly unable to carry out his policy. It was finally rendered impossible when the Asiatic cities with such unexpected rapidity attached themselves to Athens of their own accord. Part of them had remained great and populous, *e.g.* Ephesus; others had, under the Persian rule, recovered from their decay and been peopled anew. Thus there was no question at present as to an absolute dominion on the part of Athens. Moreover, the critical state of her relations with Sparta made extreme caution more than ever necessary: it behoved her to avoid the errors through which Sparta had lost the supreme command, and to attach her

* See Note XIX. Appendix.

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Views of Aristides as to its constitution.

new allies to herself by a gentler method of union. This view was represented by Aristides; and it was the extreme good-fortune of Athens that in him she possessed the man whose statesmanlike wisdom, active vigour, and justness—a quality which all Greece acknowledged in him—marked him out for the foundation and settlement of the new confederation according to a system which, on the one hand, respected the rights of the lesser states, and, on the other, called into life a constitution guaranteeing unity and strength to the alliance-in-arms, and to the Athenians a position of decisive influence.

The most popular and acceptable constitution which could be given to such a confederation was that of the Amphictyony. For this purpose, according to Greek law, a religious centre was needed; and in this instance the latter could be found nowhere but in Delos, the sacred isle between the two shores, the Delphi of the Archipelago, which, even in pre-Homeric times, had been the scene of festivals of Apollo and the well-situated place of assembly for the Ionic tribes on either side of the sea. Athens stood in particularly intimate relations with Delos; Erysichthon the Cecropide was said to have first established the festive celebration; and as already Polycrates and Pisistratus (vol. i. p. 361; vol. ii. p. 142) had chosen Delos as the centre of their schemes of maritime dominion, so that island now became the centre of a new confederation, whose representatives assembled upon it. The ancient splendour of national festivals was to be renewed on a wider scale; accordingly the Delian priesthood encouraged the scheme of the Athenians, and the prophets of the Delian Apollo declared them the future rulers of the sea.*

Aristides was the spokesman of the Athenians among the deputies of the allies of the maritime states. He demonstrated the necessity of regulating the contributions according to a fixed scale of rates,

* See Athenæus, p. 331 f.

since for the maintenance of a fleet of war in a constant state of readiness for battle a common treasury and a fixed budget were indispensable. He was himself commissioned to institute an accurate enquiry into the resources of the several states, and to settle the federal scale of contributions (*Bundesmatrikel*). The confederate states undertook the obligation of regular contributions, to which they consented all the more readily, inasmuch as they were aware of the necessity of a standing naval force for another purpose viz. the protection of trade against piracy. Nor were they previously unaccustomed to such tributes; for during their brief hegemony of the sea the Spartans had arbitrarily levied taxes, as had the Great King before them (according to the estimate fixed by Artaphernes as satrap of Sardes). The payments now demanded were contributions to the war-fund, such as Sparta too claimed from the Peloponnesians; with only this difference, that they had to be made regularly, as a standing army was in question in the present case. And, lastly, the communities had themselves agreed to these contributions, the expenditure of which depended on the joint resolutions of the members of the confederation.

Athens becomes the federal capital.

Meanwhile none but the lesser cities were, properly speaking, taxed, which had no ships-of-war of their own; their contributions were employed to maintain a navy proportionate to the sum total of their population. The larger cities on the other hand paid no tribute, but undertook themselves to furnish crews and ships proportionate to the estimate of Aristides, who performed his task to the satisfaction of all parties. The common fund, into which flowed annually the considerable sum of 460 talents (112,125*l.*) was established in the sanctuary of Apollo, and the new office of the *Hellenotamiæ* instituted for its administration. The very name of this office points to the Amphictyonic character of the confederation, which was to be a national Hellenic power. To the Athenians was

The Hellenotamiæ.

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conceded the important privilege of training citizens of their own to fill the office. The lesser and greater states were equally independent, and had the same right of voting in the assemblies in which resolutions were passed as to the conduct of wars, the expenditure of moneys, and other matters of federal interest.

Natural growth of the influence of Athens in the confederacy.

But as the confederation grew in extent, these assemblies became so large, and at the same time so divided in their interests and views, that they were found eminently ill-adapted for harmonious action. Moreover, from the earliest time jealousy and dissensions had prevailed among the islands and cities of Ionia. This only tended to increase the importance of the mission of Athens as well as her influence, since, superior to all the rest both in power and political foresight, she was the directing member of the confederation, whose assemblies she summoned and conducted, while she levied the contributions, administered the common fund, watched over the common interests both at home and abroad, furnished the commanders-in-chief, and in all main points decided all enterprises of war. The power of the Athenians was increased without any exertion on their part by the confederates themselves, who, when they saw all immediate danger removed and the security of the sea restored, grew weary of warlike efforts. The small communities preferred to send money instead of ships, in order that they might in ease and comfort devote themselves to their commercial, agricultural, and fishing pursuits: and thus it happened that at their expense they continued to increase the offensive and defensive power of Athens. Sparta and Peloponnesus took absolutely no part in this structure of a new Hellenic power; but they looked with eyes of hatred and splenetic envy upon Athens, as with so unexpected a rapidity and success she accomplished the great task of reuniting the Greeks on the two coasts which had been torn asunder against the laws of nature.

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Expedition into the Thracian sea.

Ol. lxxvii. 3. (B.C. 470.)

While these important institutions were established at Delos, the forces of the Persians and Greeks in the north of the sea lay opposite one another in an attitude of hostility. Byzantium, as the key to the northern routes of the sea, remained one of the head-quarters of the Greek ships, while the Persians were constantly on the alert for its recapture. For the latter had by no means renounced their Thracian possessions; they regarded it as a point of honour not to sacrifice the conquests of Darius. Accordingly the two bravest men known to Xerxes were commissioned to guard the Thracian possessions, Mascames in Doriscus and Boges in Eïon. They maintained a connexion with the Thracians, who supplied them with corn; for the Macedonian princes could not remain indifferent to the extension of the new Greek naval power in the northern waters and to the admission of the Chalcidian towns into the confederation of Delos. Accordingly the Persians endeavoured to keep up their relations with their ancient allies in Macedonia and Thessaly, and still hoped to be able under more favourable circumstances to advance on the European mainland.

Scyrus.

Other events contributed to direct the operations of the Athenians towards the northern seas. On the islands bounding the Thracian sea on the south, particularly on Scyrus, Pelasgian tribes of rude habits of life continued to exist, who as freebooters rendered the sea insecure and disturbed the trade on the coasts of Thessaly. The Amphictyons at Delphi had demanded compensation for acts of piracy committed against Thessalian merchantmen: this compensation was refused by the Scyrians, who laughed at the impotence of the Delphic diet. An attempt was hereupon made to induce Athens to interfere in the matter, and to take measures against the Scyrians. A Delphic oracle reached Athens, bidding her remember the remains of Theseus which rested on distant Scyrus, and restore these sacred relics to their home. Here was a further cause, now that the difficult questions as

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to the constitution of the confederation had been settled and the boundaries of its dominion placed in a state of security, to give to the first more important undertaking a northward direction.*

Cimon commander of the confederates.

The right leader was at hand. The Athenians found him in the person of Cimon, Miltiades' son, whose talents as a general and patriotic sentiments were most warmly recommended to them by Aristides. The first ebullition of illwill against the hero of Marathon had given place to a calmer acknowledgment of his services; and the Athenians therefore rejoiced to find in his son a man who for the honour of the city revived the glories of the illustrious race of the Philaïdæ.

As the son of a wealthy prince and a Thracian princess, Hegesipyle, he had carelessly grown up in the lap of luxury, according to the fashion of his ancestors, devoted to chivalrous exercises, and living a life of gaiety and pleasure; till, suddenly cast down by his father's fall from the height of good-fortune, he had learnt in full measure the serious lessons of life. Being unable to pay the fine to which his father had been sentenced, he had to submit to the strict treatment imposed by the Attic laws of debt; he was excluded from all civil rights, and, as his person was liable for the debt, he was perhaps even for a time deprived of his full personal liberty. He lived in complete retirement with his half-sister Elpinice—as it is said, in conjugal union (such an alliance not being forbidden according to the views of the ancients, and in this case admitting of the explanation that on account of their pressing poverty Elpinice had no opportunity of finding a husband suitable to her rank).

Suddenly a strange fate changed the whole course of life of the pair. One of the wealthiest citizens of Athens, Callias, became violently enamoured of Elpinice. He obtained her hand, paid the fifty talents, and thus not only rescued the brother and sister from want and dishonour, but also restored the

* See Note XX. Appendix.

son of Miltiades to his native city, to whose service he henceforth devoted all his powers. The hard schooling of life had matured and refined him. Accordingly he showed himself to be utterly devoid of all personal sensitiveness and ignoble desire of vengeance; and was even able to shake off the cramping traditions of his house, which had placed its pride in the breeding of race-horses. For he unconditionally accepted Themistocles' views of a maritime policy, and, at a time when the citizens were still in doubt and the noble families displayed great unwillingness to join the forward movement, Cimon was seen to ascend the Acropolis for the purpose of dedicating a horse's bridle to the city-goddess, and then to descend, shield in hand, to the harbour, in order for his part to prove that he understood the times and recognised that the future of Athens depended not upon her steeds, but upon her ships. Soon he proved himself a born leader by the side of Aristides on the fleet; he essentially contributed to the easy and successful assumption of the maritime hegemony by Athens; and it was therefore an acknowledgment well deserved by his services, when the first great undertaking of the Attico-Ionian fleet was confided to his command.

Siege of Eïon.

The son of Miltiades seemed to have a particular right to appear on this theatre of war—viz. on the Thracian coasts and islands—to fight, as his father had fought before him, against Persians and Pelasgian tribes. He sailed in the first instance to the mouth of the Strymon, in order to take Eïon from the Persians. Well aware of the difficulties of his task, he had entered into relations of amity with Thessaly, where the national party was again able to move more freely: from Pharsalus he received support in money and troops, and was thus able to blockade Eïon. But the walls were defended with extreme valour. He had to relinquish his attempt to storm the place, and to wait till the stores of the overcrowded fortress should come to an end. At the same time he dammed up

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the lower course of the Strymon, so that the water rose up along the walls and the unbaked lime-blocks began to dissolve. When Boges saw the walls fall, he sank his treasures, and finally put his family and himself to death. A desolate heap of ruins fell into the hands of the Athenians.

Chastisement of Scyrus. *Ol.* lxxvii. 3 *or* 4. (470 *or* 469 B.C.)

The easier and more remunerative task of retaliating upon the Scyrians was accomplished immediately after the campaign on the Strymon. Nothing could better correspond to the inclinations of Cimon than the task of representing in this matter the national interests of all Hellas, and the opportunity of securing to the young navy the glory of bringing order and discipline into the Greek waters. An opportunity was at the same time afforded him of proving his gratitude to his Thessalian allies by giving security to their coasts, and of greatly enlarging the boundaries of the Athenian dominion. For the island of Scyrus became Attic territory, and Attic citizens were settled on the soil on which the Dolopes had lived their life of rapine. Lastly, this achievement of Cimon received a peculiar religious significance by the fortunate discovery of the burial-place of Theseus, the place of which may be conjectured to have been kept secret as a Heroic monument of mysterious guardian powers, and by the solemn transportation of his remains to Athens in Ol. lxxvii. 4 (469 B.C.), under the archon Apsephion. The whole undertaking, which was so successfully accomplished by Cimon, and which so firmly established his fame, was in every respect most opportune for him. Hence a conjecture naturally suggests itself, that the opportune concurrence of its two causes, viz. the Delphic oracle and the complaint of the Thessalians, was occasioned by a mutual agreement: in which case we should have to admire in Cimon, not only the successful general, but also the statesman possessed of sagacious forethought, and capable of exerting a far-reaching influence by means of the combinations at his command.

The remains of Theseus restored to Athens by Cimon. *Ol.* lxxvii. 4. (B.C. 469.)

These were the first actions of great importance in which the maritime confederation of Delos proved itself to be a power with a future before it, and already able to command the Archipelago. The full and complete forces of Ionic population were for the first time united under an intelligent and energetic guidance. What power could resist a navy which united the best mariners of the world for common operations?

Difficulties in the management of the confederacy.

For a series of years the position of affairs remained favourable, as long as the common danger lasted, and on the one side goodwill and confidence and on the other a wise moderation prevailed. However, it was also at a very early date that the weak points of the confederation became evident. These consisted in the difficulty of placing reliance on the Ionic character; the indisposition of the Ionians to submit to a system of common regulations became apparent, and this inborn unwillingness was naturally very much increased when it was perceived that the independence of the individual members of the confederation was not what had been anticipated. Athens could not do otherwise than attend with extreme severity to the fulfilment of the federal obligations; and as the real profits of the union fell into the hands of the Athenians, who with the federal fleet conquered whole islands and important tracts of coast, this state of things provoked discontent and mistrust among the confederates, who saw themselves degraded into instruments for the increase of the Attic dominion.

Reduction of Carystus and Naxos. (B.C. 467-66.)

Thus, before even the first ten years had passed since the commencement of the Attic hegemony, the fleet had to be employed to bring back revolted cities to their duty: in the first instance Carystus on Eubœa, which, though unsupported by the other Eubœan towns, offered a lengthy resistance; and next powerful Naxos, which it was impossible to humiliate until after a long siege. With secret joy, on the one hand the Persians, and on the other the Spartans, were witnesses of the rapidity with which the powers of the new and mighty

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confederation were consuming themselves in internal feuds. But the immediate consequence of these feuds was only a fresh increase of the Attic power. In order to give an example calculated to terrify others, a confederate city was now for the first time excluded from the number of independent island-states. By their revolt against the federal system the Naxians had forfeited their rights; they became subjects instead of members of the confederation, and as such had to submit to a severer taxation and a stricter superintendence on the part of Athens. Thus the federal capital gained a more powerful position in the centre of the sea of the Cyclades; and kept together the loosely-united confederation by means of fear and terror.

Last fortunes of Themistocles.

While the fleet lay before Naxos, a ship was cruising in the offing of the island. Notwithstanding the storm blowing from the north, this vessel was observed to remain timidly at a distance and to avoid the harbour. It bore on its deck the victor of Salamis, who, outlawed as a traitor and pursued by Sparta and Athens, was now on his flight to Persia.

In the year after the battle of Platææ no further traces appear of the public activity of Themistocles. He rightly compared himself to a tree under whose branches all seek protection in the hour of the tempest, but which is overlooked and left to suffer any damage as soon as the stress of weather has passed. The chief blame, however, attached to himself. He was by nature a man whom at one time it was necessary to employ, at another impossible to tolerate—endowed with marvellous gifts for saving his native country in the crises of extreme danger, but utterly unadapted for directing the course of the city which he had saved in times of tranquillity. For this he lacked a sense of legal order, a feeling of respect for the rights of others, a readiness to submit to views adverse to his

own, and that purity of character which is alone able to call forth universal and enduring confidence.

Conduct of Themistocles at Athens.

Immediately after the victory of Salamis, his imperious conduct in the Archipelago had given rise to extreme dissatisfaction. The general indignation at his violence, injustice, and corruptness found an echo in the poems of Timocreon of Rhodes, who draws a comparison between the Hellenic leaders in the Archipelago. "Others," he says, "may take pleasure in Pausanias, others in Xanthippus, others in Leotychides. I celebrate Aristides as the best man who has come forth from holy Athens; for odious to the gods is Themistocles, the liar, the unjust, the traitor, who, for the sake of filthy lucre, has refused to carry home Timocreon, to whom he is bound by the rites of hospitality, to his native city of Ialysus."

His views of the future of Athens.

Themistocles refused to allow any consideration for other men or for their views to influence him in any direction whatsoever; the cautious conduct, the gentle and considerate bearing, of Aristides were repugnant to him; he wished to see the omnipotence of Athens on the sea realised without delay, and for this purpose he held all means to be equally good. He is even said to have imagined a scheme for burning the vessels of the Peloponnesians when they happened to lie assembled in the Pagasæan gulf. No other naval power was to exist but that created by himself; to this alone the sea was to belong. Nor would he on the mainland in any wise respect limitations imposed by federal forms. When accordingly the Spartans, with regard to the Isthmian resolutions, proposed to reorganise the ancient Amphictyonic council at Delphi, excluding from it all the states which had taken no part in the Persian war, Themistocles strenuously opposed this plan. And he was justified in his opposition; for had Argos and the states of Central and Northern Greece lost their right of voting, Sparta would, as was her intention, have, together with her Peloponnesian allies, possessed a certain majority of votes. Accordingly Themistocles

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preferred to allow the old federal diet to carry on a shadowy existence, rather than to see it re-established in a form calculated to obstruct and hinder the free movement of Athenian policy.*

Enmity of the Spartans against him.

In consequence of this conduct on the part of Themistocles, the Spartans henceforth unceasingly exerted themselves to undermine his influence. This was no difficult task in the case of a personage who had given offence to so many; and it was above all facilitated by the circumstance, that his ancient opponent stood higher than ever before in the public estimation. For ever since by his law of reform Aristides had proved himself the friend of the people, the liberal party also was in his favour; while his original party attached great importance to the fact that the statesman who enjoyed the highest confidence of the public at home was at the same time highly esteemed at Sparta. Altogether, however, the citizens were restrained by a true instinct from giving themselves up to Themistocles, whose policy would have provoked a premature rupture with Sparta and a war among the confederates. They felt that for a state as well as for an individual it was of the highest importance to preserve its reputation intact, and were glad to be led by a man whose principle it was that nothing which offended against law and usage could be truly expedient. Thus Themistocles was comparatively disregarded, and the mightiest force which Athens possessed condemned to inactivity. He accordingly had to feed on his previous glories, and to take heed lest even his earlier deeds should be forgotten.

His ostentation and violence.

Nor did he lack opportunities either at Athens or abroad. When, under the archonship of Adimantus, in the spring of 476 B.C. (Ol. lxxv. 4), it fell to Themistocles to equip, in the name of his tribe, the festive

* I cannot venture absolutely to reject the narrative as to Themistocles' project of burning the fleet, as Niebuhr, in his *Lectures on Ancient Hist.* vol. i. p. 353, Engl. Transl., and others have done. See Vischer, *Kimon*, p. 47.

chorus for the holidays of Dionysus, it was the friend of Themistocles, the poet Phrynichus, whose tragedy he caused to be acted before his fellow-citizens with unwonted splendour. This tragedy, according to a well-founded conjecture, is no other than that of the *Phœnissæ*, which treats of the naval victory of the Hellenes and the woeful return of Xerxes—in other words, of the glory of Themistocles. In one of the next years, probably in 472 (Ol. lxxvii. 1), he visited the Olympian games; and on this occasion also he had the satisfaction of beholding, as soon as his presence became known, the eyes of all the spectators turn from the games in quest of the hero of Salamis. But on this occasion again he manifested a harsh and imperious self-will. He took umbrage at the luxurious pomp unfolded at Olympia by Hiero, the Tyrant of Syracuse, and at the homage paid to the latter. He accordingly called upon the authorities to pull down the tent of the Tyrant, and to exclude his race-horses from the games, because his dynasty had refused to take part in the Persian wars.* CHAP. II.

In Athens Themistocles erected close to his dwelling a sanctuary of Artemis Aristobule, *i.e.* the goddess of "the best counsel," in order even by means of a religious foundation to keep alive among the citizens the memory of his sagacious foresight. Gradually, however, the Athenians sickened of his perpetual self-glorification, which became less and less tolerable to them as the old victories were obscured by new; and the opposition it provoked is evident from the *Persæ* of Æschylus, acted in 472 B.C. (Ol. lxxvii. 1), where even in the battle of Salamis the person of Themistocles was allowed to fall into the background. The estimation of his services had become a party question. And doubtless the Athenians would have overlooked in this great man the weakness of his vanity, his arrogance and craving for ostentatious pomp, and have permitted him to remain undisturbed

* See Note XXI. Appendix.

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at Athens, had he found it possible to acquiesce in the preponderating influence of other statesmen, and had his own personal influence been inferior to what it actually was. But he had once for all obtained a national authority such as belonged to no other of his contemporaries, and in Athens he still had a following absolutely devoted to him. Hence he worked not without success against the policy of Aristides, occasioned a perpetual state of disquiet and agitation, and endangered by his proposals the good understanding with Sparta, till at last, not without the co-operation of the latter, the party of Cimon (for Aristides remained entirely aloof from this party movement) brought about a sentence of ostracism at Athens, by which Themistocles was banished, and Cimon, without a rival, assumed the lead in public affairs.

Ostracism of Themistocles.

Ol. lxxvii. 2. (B.C. 471.)

He goes to Argos.

Themistocles repaired to Argos, where the victim of Spartan hatred might look for the readiest admittance, particularly as he had only recently prevented the exclusion of the Argives from the Amphictyony. But even here this unquiet spirit found no rest. His ambition had only been heightened by the injuries which he had suffered; and he thirsted for vengeance upon his enemies, especially upon Sparta. Nor was an opportunity wanting. For when he arrived in Peloponnesus he found public attention there occupied with the case of Pausanias.

Prosecution of Pausanias.

After the recall from Byzantium (p. 336) Pausanias had by no means relinquished his schemes. He succeeded in disarming the evidence of his accusers by means of craft and corruption: probably he represented his negotiations with the Great King as devices by which he had, after the manner of Themistocles, intended to ruin the enemy. In fine, after long examinations of witnesses and judicial enquiries, which occupied the year 474 (Ol. lxxvi. 2-3, or thereabouts), he was acquitted of the guilt of high treason. He demanded the complete restoration of his dignity, in order that he might return with his former strength

His acquittal.

Ol. lxxvi. 2-3. (B.C. 474.)

to Byzantium: but this he was unable to obtain; his return would have resulted in open war, in which Sparta was at present loth to engage. Notwithstanding this failure, Pausanias after all went to Byzantium, not however as regent and general, but without any public commission, on a Hermionean vessel. He was supplied with money (probably by the Persians), and levied troops in Thrace. With these he even succeeded in establishing himself in Byzantium, doubtless with the intention of delivering the place into the hands of the Persians. But while he was here calculating on receiving aid from Asia, he was anticipated by the Athenians, who kept guard over the Bosporus with a squadron. A battle took place in Byzantium. For the second time the Athenians saved this important city at a most critical moment, and forced Pausanias and his mercenaries to withdraw from its walls. CHAP. II.

His new intrigues;

Pausanias crossed to the Troad, where he established himself at Colonæ, with the intention of executing his plans in a different way. But while he was here awaiting a favourable opportunity (for it was not his wish to appear before the Great King as a fugitive), the messengers of the Ephors reached him, who called him to account for the recent events. Pausanias obeyed the summons. He must have fancied that, armed with Persian money, he would not only be again able to escape condemnation, but also to pursue his schemes more advantageously at home. And in fact, notwithstanding the renewal of the prosecution for high treason, he contrived to retain perfect freedom in his movements at Sparta, and to carry on unhindered his correspondence with Artabazus, and even intrigues in Laconia. The evident purpose of the latter was, with the help of the Helots, who were excited to revolt by the promise of civil rights, to overthrow the constitution of Lycurgus, to put an end to the Ephorate, and invest the royal office with increased power—such as might well be combined with a nominal recognition of the supreme sovereignty of the Persian king.

and new indictment.

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Death of Pausanias.

For many months the judicial enquiries, and simultaneously the intrigues of Pausanias, continued, until at last the messenger who was to carry the final and decisive despatch to Artabazus betrayed his master, and handed the letter to the Ephors. After, in order to obtain a confession of his guilt out of the mouth of the accused himself, secretly overhearing a conversation between him and his messenger in the sanctuary of Posidon on Tænarum, they at last gave orders for his arrest. Pausanias fled from the road into the enclosure of Athene "of the house of bronze," on the citadel at Sparta: here, as it was against the divine law to lay hands upon him, he was walled in, and not carried out of the court of the temple till he was dying, lest by his death he should pollute the sacred ground. Nowhere is there any definite statement as to the period of time which had elapsed between the commencement of the second trial and the death of Pausanias.

Condemnation of Themistocles.

During these last enquiries, proofs had fallen into the hands of the Ephors convicting Themistocles of a share in the guilt of Pausanias. That the latter in his schemes of revolution rested some hopes on Themistocles was extremely natural, since the latter might be expected to entertain the same sentiments of dissatisfaction and hatred against the authorities at Sparta. The existing state of affairs offered no arena to Themistocles for the exercise of his ambition, and he had on one previous occasion taken measures to enable him in the last instance to fall back upon the Persian king. It is certain that Pausanias communicated his schemes to Themistocles, whose participation he may very probably in his letters to Artabazus have represented as a certainty, although it has never been possible to prove against Themistocles any actual participation in the guilt of the criminal intrigues of Pausanias. Moreover, it is in itself extremely improbable that Themistocles should have declared his readiness to aid in carrying out the intrigues of the Spartan, with the

weakness of whose character he was well acquainted. He had, however, known of these designs, and preserved silence on the subject. The Ephors, with venomous zeal, lost no time in making the most of the existing proofs, in order at the same time to cast at all events a portion of the disgrace in which the whole transaction involved Sparta upon Athens. CHAP. II.

The exiled Themistocles was indicted at Athens for participation in the act of high treason. The Athenians had no wish to enter into the matter, and a generous sentiment seems to have induced the citizens to reject the accusation. Themistocles aided the efforts of his friends by means of written declarations. But his adversaries were unwearied. The Spartans combined anew with the native adversaries of the exile, and Leobotes, an Alcmæonide, supported by the party of Cimon, contrived to have the indictment admitted to a hearing. As Spartan guile had designed, Themistocles was summoned to submit to a trial for high treason against the common country before a Hellenic court of judicature at Sparta. Failing to appear, he was condemned; and the pursuit of the convict was carried on, as a matter of general Hellenic interest, by Sparta and Athens in common.

His flight. (B.C. 467-66.)

And now Hellas witnessed the disgraceful spectacle, that the saviour of her independence was, like a vulgar criminal, pursued by runners and driven over land and sea, from one place of refuge to another. There is no instance of the two cities having ever acted with equal concord and energy for any lofty and noble object.

Themistocles was not desirous of quitting Hellas; he wished to do nothing likely to confirm the calumnies of his enemies. He went from Argos to Corcyra, and being driven thence, crossed to Epirus. Apparently, his pursuers hereupon lost his track; a current rumour asserted him to be in Sicily, while he had actually found a hospitable reception at the hearth of Admetus, king of the Molossi. There, he thought, he would be able to remain, and accordingly, by the help of his

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friends, caused his wife and children to follow him. But he had deceived himself. Soon his irreconcileable enemies had discovered his place of refuge, and after a respite of a few months he was forced once more to continue his flight, since his highminded host was no longer able to resist the demands of the Hellenic ambassadors, who bade him deliver up his guest. There was now no longer any safe refuge for him on the hither side of the Hellespont, and thus all hope of return was for ever at an end. He caused himself to be conducted by solitary paths straight across the savage mountain-country into Macedonia, and reached the harbour of Pydua without being discovered. Here he went on board a ship lying ready for the voyage to Ionia. A tempest drove it into the vicinity of the Attic fleet lying before Naxos (p. 348). To have come into contact with the latter would have been his ruin. He discovered himself to the master of the vessel, and by entreaties and threats prevailed upon him to keep it off in the teeth of wind and weather. Thus Themistocles at last reached Ephesus.

But even here he was never out of personal danger. Greeks and Persians lay in wait for him; for the Great King had placed a high price upon his head; and in Ionia, where at that time Persian and Greek influence alternated, he saw himself everywhere surrounded by perils springing from a double source. He restlessly strayed from place to place, till at last he found friendly counsel and aid with Nicogenes in Mysia (with whom he was connected by rites of hospitality), and perceived the only means of escaping from this life of danger. It was evident that he could find security and protection nowhere but at the court of the king at Susa. For although no human being had greater reason to wish him evil, yet Themistocles was aware that nowhere would his services be more highly valued, and that it had ever been the wont of the Achæmenidæ to show generosity towards Hellenic fugitives. Nicogenes stood in relations of intimacy

with the Persian court. He procured a covered carriage, such as it was the custom to use for the harem of noble Persians; and in one of these women's vans, concealed behind thick curtains, Themistocles accomplished the journey from Ægæ, *viâ* Sardes, to Susa.*

The conjuncture of circumstances was in his favour. For the courage of the Persians had been deeply lowered by new disasters of war, and the want of generals able to withstand the Athenians was felt more poignantly than ever.

The victory on the Eurymedon. *Ol.* lxxviii. 3. (B.C. 466.)

After the death of Pausanias had frustrated the hopes which the Persians had placed on his traitorous intrigues, orders had issued for a new armament against Hellas. Land and naval troops assembled on the southern coast of Asia Minor, where the Persian power was as yet comparatively respected. In Cyprus the dynasts favourable to the Persians once more put forth their strength; the Phœnician fleet was again ready for battle. At all events the border of the coast, the cities of which were still inscribed with the rate of their tributes in the Persian lists of taxation, was to be again subjected, and the satraps had been made to undertake the payment of the sums due. It was accordingly necessary to endeavour to put an end to the revolutionary state of things prevailing in these quarters. But before the military and naval forces could unite, the Athenians with wonderful energy anticipated any offensive movement. Cimon set sail with two hundred ships, sought out the enemy, and found him in the Pamphylian sea. The Persian fleet, notwithstanding its numerical superiority, wished to avoid a battle, and retreated into the mouth of the Eurymedon. But Cimon fell upon it there, and forced a naval battle. The Persian fleet, huddled together in its position, was completely routed; the crews, which fled on shore and united with the land-army, were

* Cf. Plut. *Themist.* 26. Diod., xi. 56, mentions Lysithides. These accounts have probably been subjected to much additional ornamentation.

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Death of Xerxes. *Ol.* lxxviii. (B.C. 465.) Xerxes lived to behold this disgrace of his empire, but was powerless to avenge, nay, almost incapable of feeling it. Indolent and stolid, he sat in his palace, and allowed himself to be ruled by his wife Amestris, by eunuchs, and officers of his court. From year to year he had sunk lower, and the nobler impulses which had formerly to some extent animated him had been extinguished in dissolute excesses. Before he had returned to Susa from his campaign in Greece he had attempted to seduce the wife of his brother Masistes: his advances being rejected by her, he entered into an amorous connexion with Artaynte, her and Masistes' daughter, whom he had married to Darius, the heir of his throne. This aroused the jealousy of the passionate Amestris, to whose cruel fury the innocent wife of Masistes falls a sacrifice. In consequence of her death, Masistes revolts against Xerxes, and after a sanguinary struggle is destroyed, with the whole of his house. In short, the last years of Xerxes were replete with every horror of crime and shame, and the Greeks could therein recognise the just punishment for the woe which he had brought upon their country. Impotent and despised in his own court, Xerxes was finally assassinated by the commander of his body-guard, the Hyrcanian Artabanus; Darius, the heir to the throne, being another victim of this palace revolution. It was at an end when Themistocles arrived at Susa. He found Artabanus still in command of the troops of the palace, and was by this personage, who contrived for some time to maintain himself in his position of influence, introduced to the youthful Great King Artaxerxes. A few months later, the crimes of the Hyrcanian, and his intention of destroying the whole race of the

Achæmenidæ, became manifest, and he fell by the hand of Artaxerxes, Ol. lxxviii. 4 (B.C. 465).* CHAP. II.

Themistocles at the court of Artaxerxes. Ol. lxxix. 1. (B.C. 469.)

When Artaxerxes assumed the government, all Persia was still prostrate with terror in consequence of the battle of the Eurymedon; the army timidly remained in the interior, while the Attic fleet was left in command of sea and coast, and the tributes of the towns flowed to Delos. Artaxerxes was a highminded youth; he entered upon the heritage of the neglected and disgraced empire with the determination of doing his best to raise his country from its present condition. It was natural, then, that he regarded as an event full of promise the arrival at Susa, at the very moment of his accession, of the first naval hero of his times, expatriated by his ungrateful fellow-countrymen, and now anxious of placing his services at the king's disposal. Could a better instrument be found for redeeming the military honour of the Achæmenidæ on the Ægean?

Themistocles in Magnesia.

Themistocles admirably contrived to take advantage of the favour of circumstances and of his gracious reception by the youthful prince. As long as he had to express himself by means of interpreters, he was unable to exert the full influence of his personality. He accordingly requested permission to live for a time in absolute retirement, in order to acquire the language and usages of the country. Although he had already passed his sixtieth year, he yet possessed the freshness of mind, the memory, and the versatility of youth, and was accordingly, after the expiration of a year, able to accomplish his object sufficiently to move with freedom and ease at the Persian court. He now succeeded in commanding all who came in contact with him at Susa, as he had formerly at Athens; he became the king's companion at table and in the chase, and a personage of decisive influence. Before he had any claims on the royal gratitude, the favour of the king established him in a new home. Magnesia

* See Note XXII. Appendix.

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on the Mæander, which brought in an annual revenue of fifty talents (12,190*l. circ.*), was assigned to him as a princely residence; in addition to which, Myus in Caria, Lampsacus and Percote on the Hellespont, and Scepsis in Æolis, were granted him, with their several revenues, for bread, wine, relish, dress, and bed respectively. These towns were evidently selected according to their situation, for the purpose of giving Themistocles an extensive influence in those borderlands of the empire which were most exposed to danger, and of inducing him, for the sake of his personal interests, to defend them with vigour. With these wide possessions and revenues at his disposal, Themistocles spent a considerable time, partly at Magnesia itself, partly in progresses through the country as a Persian satrap; and silver coins have been preserved to this day which, as ruler of Magnesia, he caused to be coined with his name in Greek characters and Greek monetary symbols.

Yet, notwithstanding all this splendour, his present lot was neither happy nor peaceable. He remained an object of mistrust and envy, and often exposed his life to danger by his reckless audacity. Thus he is said on one occasion, when staying at Sardes, to have expressed a wish that the bronze figure of a female water-bearer, which he had formerly set up at Athens, in his capacity of superintendent of the water-supply, might be sent back to that city; whereby the wrath of the satrap at Sardes was aroused to such a degree that Themistocles had to take refuge among the women of the harem, so as with the aid of their interference to avoid the evil consequences of his recklessness.

But the chief difficulty of his position consisted in his having undertaken obligations the fulfilment of which was not only difficult, but impossible to him. For a long time, indeed, he seems to have been spared all pressing demands on the part of the king, who during the first years of his government found ample occupation in the interior of his empire. Doubtless,

however, the very situation of the towns assigned to him must have brought Themistocles into hostile contact with Athens and her confederates. The latter, we may conjecture, did all in their power to diminish or dispute his revenues on the Mæander and the Hellespont. A notice is in fact preserved, that Cimon conducted an expedition against the Persians, who advanced with Themistocles towards the coast; but it is impossible to establish any precise facts with reference to this event.*

A new complication, however, now supervened. The confusion which had uninterruptedly prevailed in the Persian empire since the death of Xerxes encouraged the Egyptians to attempt the recovery of their independence: they drove the Persian revenue officers out of the country, and renounced all allegiance to the Great King. The attention of the latter, who had recently put an end to the revolt of Bactria, was thus once more directed to the West; and, as here a combination between the Greeks and Egyptians was greatly to be feared, the time had now arrived to expect and demand active services from Themistocles.

Death of Themistocles. (B.C. 460 *circ.*).

Different rumours prevailed among the ancients concerning the end of Themistocles, as, in point of fact, was the case with regard to the whole course of his adventurous life. When, on the threshold of old age, he was to undertake the hardest task of his whole life, and, at the head of foreign mariners, in whose efficiency and fidelity he could place no trust, to give battle to the triremes of his native city and their general, the hero of so many victories,—Themistocles suddenly died. His death happened at so opportune a moment for releasing him out of the most painful of situations, that a voluntary death was very generally believed in. Thucydides, however, opposes to these

* Cf. Suidas, s. v. Κίμων. As to the *stater* bearing the name of Themistocles, see *Revue num. franc.* 1856, t. iii. n. 2. Cf. Mommsen, *Römisches Münzwesen*, page 65, and J. Brandis, *Gesch. des Mass-Gewichts- und Münzwesens in Vorderasien bis auf Alex. d. Gr.* page 238 f. The coins of Them. follow the Attic standard of weight.

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rumours the decided statement that Themistocles died from the effects of a disease; and the only doubt remaining is therefore whether this disease occurred accidentally, or whether the internal struggle between patriotism and personal obligations, and the unsupportable consciousness of his inability to solve this complication in a manner honourable to himself, at last destroyed his powers of mind and body.*

Dissensions in the naval confederation.

While thus the dangers which were to accrue to the Athenians through Themistocles were averted from their heads, certain extremely dangerous dissensions had broken out in the midst of the naval confederation itself. This occurred immediately after the brilliant victory on the Eurymedon, after which the Lycian towns to the east, as far as Pamphylia, had also been incorporated with the Delian confederation, and all danger from external foes had been removed. For in the northern part of the sea also, where the Persians were unwilling to relinquish the Chersonnesus, Cimon succeeded with a small squadron in annihilating the hostile dominion which it was intended to form here, and in reconquering for the Athenians the whole of the peninsula which commands the Hellespont, and which had been the territory of Cimon's ancestors.

The Athenians on the Strymon.

But this important advance of the Athenian arms only led to further complications. For the Athenians, in their attempt to extend their dominion along the Thracian coasts, were opposed by the most considerable of all the islands in the confederation, the island of Thasos, which was still unwilling to relinquish its ancient claims for a naval dominion of its own (p. 198).

* Cf. Thuc. i. 138. The sixty-five years (ap. Plutarch, *Themist.* 31) in conjunction with the traditions discussed in Note I. Appendix, lead us to the time before Ol. lxxix. 4. As to his death by bulls' blood at the sacrifice, see Cic. *Brutus* 11. Aristoph. *Equit.* 84 is a passage proving how widely believed was the view of his having poisoned himself.

Hence the establishment of Athenian rule on the Strymon was a constant stumbling-block to the Thasians (p. 343). Sooner or later hostile meetings must result from it; for the islanders soon perceived that the Athenians had no intention of contenting themselves with the conquest of the coast-place of Eïon, but that the latter was merely to be the starting-point for the gradual subjection of the land of Thrace. CHAP. II.

Immediately after the fall of Eïon, a military division marched up the Strymon, in order to establish itself at the distance of an hour above the mouth of the river at the Nine Roads (Ἐννέα ὁδοί), an important commercial centre, where already Aristagoras had intended to effect a settlement (p. 184). The enterprise ended in so complete a failure, that only a few who shared in it saved their lives.

But the Athenians, instead of losing heart, about three years later undertook a new campaign on a far larger scale, in order to force an entrance into the interior. Ten thousand colonists capable of bearing arms, levied by a public summons of state, and attracted by the expectation of gaining wealth by the Thracian gold, citizens of Athens and the confederate towns, assembled at Eïon, successfully occupied the Nine Roads, and then, under the leadership of Leager, advanced further to the north into the country of the Edonians, in order to make themselves masters of strong positions in the vicinity of the mines. But the Thracian tribes made a combined resistance against the foreign invaders, fell upon the army near Drabescus, and inflicted so sanguinary a defeat upon it, that an end was thereby for ever put to all attempts on the part of the Athenians to establish a settlement in the Strymon country.*

Of these circumstances the Thasians thought it

* The first expedition was (*vid.* Schol. Æsch. p. 29, ed. Baiter et Sauppe) in the year of Phædo (for which *leg.* Apsephion—*i.e.* Ol. lxxvii. 4, B.C. 469); the second (according to Thuc. iv. 102) twenty-nine years before the foundation of Amphipolis, *i.e.* about 467. Cf. M. H. E. Meier, *Opusc. acad.* i. p. 324.

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Defection of Thasos.

Ol. lxxix. 1. (B.C. 464.)

necessary to make use, if they wished to preserve for themselves the ample resources of the mainland opposite, particularly the gold mines of Mount Pangæon, which lay in the midst between Eïon and the opposite coast of Thasos. If these were lost to them, all chance of maintaining a naval power of their own was for ever at an end for the islanders. They must make the most of their opportunity, as long as the Athenians remained discouraged, and the Thracians in a state of wrath against Athens. They accordingly opened negotiations with the Thracians, as well as with the Macedonians, to whom the Athenians were equally unwelcome neighbours; and then, when their grievances were disregarded at Athens, openly declared their secession from the confederation. This occurred soon after the battle of the Eurymedon.

Athens had to enter upon a serious struggle in order to humiliate the obstinate pride of this island, which had been long secretly arming for resistance; her dominion over the Thracian sea and the possession of the gold coast were both at stake. The Athenians collected all their forces for the struggle; and the Thasians soon perceived that, notwithstanding the secret support of Cimon, they would be unable in the end to withstand the fleet of Cimon: they therefore sought for other allies, and sent envoys to Sparta, where they met with a favourable reception.

State of feeling at Sparta. Treason and flight of Leotychides.

In Sparta it was felt that something must be done to oppose Athens. Nowhere had such results as had actually ensued been looked for from the transfer of the naval hegemony; and while Athens passed from victory to victory, and extended her power year by year, Sparta had not only stood still, or rather during the whole of this period had perversely retrograded. The trial of Pausanias had created an unfortunate impression; and about the same time other rumours spread which accused Leotychides of having been corrupted by the Aleuadæ, and for that reason made so sudden a retreat out of Thessaly (p. 331), when it was

already virtually in his power. The king had been seen with his gold in the midst of his camp. He fled to Tegea; his house was pulled down, and his memory declared to be accursed. Thus guilt was heaped on guilt in the families of the Heraclidæ. Contemporaneously, the relations of Peloponnesus to Sparta began to fall seriously out of joint; in the interior, as well as on the coasts, the party hostile to the Spartans increased in strength. Her ancient hereditary enemy, Argos, had again gathered force in order to be able to assert new claims.

Under these threatening circumstances, Sparta needed to rouse herself to vigorous action, and to search for new connexions, if she was to recover her honour and authority. The combination with Thasos presented many attractive points. For as yet the Thasians were in possession of the gold mines, and Sparta might thus hope to obtain the means of once more asserting herself against Athens by sea. The intensity of ill-feeling against Athens at Sparta is evident from the fact, that in answer to the Thasian envoys they promised, instead of mere mediation or support, a direct attack upon Athens, in order thus to necessitate the relief of the island.

The earthquake at Sparta. *Ol.* lxxix. 1. (B.C. 465-64.)

The Spartans, however, had promised more than they were able to perform. For before they could commence operations, a terrible natural calamity occurred which interrupted all their preparations. This was an earthquake of a more terrific character than any which had previously visited the valley of the Eurotas. Abysses opened; rocks were hurled down from the precipitate summits of Taygetus; dwellings and temples were crushed into heaps of ruins; Sparta no longer existed, or nothing was left in its place but a few groups of houses. All order and discipline ceased; for such a state as Sparta was only kept together by the bond of fear. The Helots, always seditiously disposed, were at this time in a state of deeper agitation than usual, because, after the dis-

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covery of the revolutionary intrigues of Pausanias, they had been subjected to the most cruel persecutions (p. 353). The wretched victims had been dragged to execution even out of the sanctuary of Posidon at Tænarum: and thus this terrible visitation of nature appeared in the light of a wrathful judgment of the earth-shaker Posidon, and as a summons to well-merited vengeance. Together with the Helots of Laconia, the Messenians rose in revolt. Thuria and Anthea became its nuclei; and king Archidamus, Leotychides' successor, in the fourth year of whose government the event took place, had hurriedly to march out with such troops as he could collect, to reconquer the revolted country.

Fall of Thasos. *Ol.* lxxix. 3. (B.C. 462.)

Under such circumstances there could be no question of supporting the Thasians. They maintained an obstinate struggle for more than two years, till their resources were exhausted. The proud island had to deliver up all her ships, to pull down her walls, to pay the expenses of the war, to relinquish the mainland and its rich revenues of metals, and to submit to a regular payment of tribute to Athens. It was a splendid gain for the victorious city, a terrible example for all doubtful members of the confederation, and a triumphant step towards the attainment of the dominion over the Thracian sea.

Cimon's position at Athens.

Cimon now stood at the full height of his fame, a height to which no Attic general before him had attained: for ever since the year 471 he had almost uninterruptedly stood in command of a victorious fleet, and continually added to the power of the confederation. But he was something else besides a famous general: in public affairs he enjoyed the highest authority; he was the favourite of the people, before whose eyes his career had taken the happiest developement, and his character gradually refined itself. For at first no great hopes had been attached to his personality. He had even been thought stolid and of heavy manners, awkward in his behaviour, and with a

smack of the petty aristocrat about him; his manners had on several occasions given rise to offence. But under the hard discipline of life the dissolute youth had grown into a man after Aristides' own heart; the son of the Tyrant and of a Thracian princess had become a genuine citizen of Athens, who, even in the more refined branches of mental culture, was superior at all events to Themistocles, and was at the same time able to command the attention of the popular assembly. An excellent kernel had come forth out of a rough shell; a healthy and vigorous power had developed itself, which operated with all the more salutary effect, inasmuch as it did not perversely resist the demands of the times. He had cheerfully renounced the inclinations of his youth, inborn in his race, and had openly and honestly joined the new tendency of Attic life for which Themistocles had first opened the way, although he could not but perceive that the new era would be extremely unfavourable to the authority and to the interests of the ancient families. Nor has any patriotic resolution ever met with a more splendid reward.

The soundness of Cimon's natural character showed itself in his not being spoilt by good-fortune. He retained his free and open demeanour, his sense of justice, which loathed all intrigues; he was, without a trace of affected condescension, the most amiable of social companions, and accessible to all; a man whose personality formed a link between the old times and the new. Above all he preserved the virtues on account of which the house of the Cypselidæ was famous (vol. i. p. 353), viz. liberality and munificent hospitality, and these without any ostentatious display or offensive boastfulness. Whatsoever he had recovered of the ancient property of his family, or added to it from his share in the spoils of the victory, he appeared to have gained, not for himself, but for his fellow-citizens. His lands in the country, his gardens, and his table were open to both travellers

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and neighbours. At the same time he showed extreme zeal on behalf of works of public interest. To him the citizens owed the beneficent construction of cloistered halls round the city-market in the Ceramicus, and the plantation of plane-trees there. He provided pleasant promenades, to which a peculiar significance attached, for the western suburbs, which descended from the Dipylum into the low district by the Cephisus. In the outer Ceramicus were laid out the burial-places of the citizens who had fallen in war; and, arranged according to the different battles, they formed a memorial of Attic glory of surpassing grandeur. Next to the Ceramicus lay the Academy, whose shady walks had been planted by the directions of Cimon. He had brought home the remains of Theseus in the midst of splendid popular festivities, and thus, as it were, restored to the people of Athens the Hero whom it loved to celebrate as the founder of its civic liberty. Finally he undertook to carry on the great work of which Themistocles had prepared the design, by commencing the erection of the walls connecting Athens with the Piræeus.

But, however impartially Cimon might follow out the line of the new policy, however essentially he had helped to execute the strategical plans of Themistocles, and afterwards to realise the maritime dominion founded by the latter, he was yet far from sharing Themistocles' conception as to the political mission of Athens. He was the successor of Themistocles in the same work, but he acted in a totally different sense. He wished to preserve for the new era the good elements of the old—reflection and moderation, discipline and social morality. As an example of fidelity to the traditions of the past, he placed Sparta before the eyes of his fellow-citizens; he considered the maintenance of a connexion with that city as a salutary check upon the tendency of the Athenians towards a reckless adoption of ill-considered plans.

The union with the other states was not merely, as

Themistocles had intended, to have been concluded for the time of danger, in order to be afterwards cast off as a burdensome fetter, but it was to continue to exist while undergoing the phases of transmutation demanded by the necessity of the times, Athens being thus not prevented from advancing and taking the lead among all the other states. Accordingly Cimon deemed it the most fortunate achievement of his life to have succeeded, in conjunction with Aristides, in securing to Athens by peaceable means the hegemony on the sea. He wished her, by the moderation of her conduct, to inspire confidence in the other states, to obtain a moral influence, and thus put an end to the feelings of mutual jealousy still subsisting. Hence he most decisively rejected all political schemes the intention of which was to make Athens great at the expense of the other confederate states and by the humiliation of Sparta. His own house was to be genuinely Hellenic in its character; and he therefore attached great importance to the maintenance of relations of mutual hospitality with the chief states of Hellas, and to representing their interests at Athens. He accordingly named his sons Thessalus, Lacedæmonius, and Eleus, in token of the decisiveness and openness with which he asserted his principles. CHAP. II.

The Spartans were fully conscious of the value to their interests of such a man as Cimon, whom already before the battle of Platææ they had seen among them as ambassador: they accordingly took advantage of their connexions in Athens to strengthen his influence there, and displayed great pliability in all negotiations in which he was actively concerned. Thus he had gradually ousted Themistocles from his public position; and had by the side of Aristides, with whom he co-operated in perfect sincerity of conviction, become the most important personage in the management of foreign affairs. When his paternal friend had withdrawn from public life, and at last died in an honoured old age, about four years after the *Death of Aristides.*

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Ol. lxxviii. 2 *post.* (B.C. 466.)

banishment of Themistocles, Cimon stood alone at the head of the state as the leader of the party which we may call the advocates of a Wider Greece (*gross-griechische Partei*), and whose political programme was based on the following main ideas:—War against the national enemy under the leadership of Athens; maintenance of the alliance with Sparta; vigorous support of the Delian Amphictyony; together with the most conciliatory conduct possible towards the allied states.

Cimon and the Themistoclean party.

The splendour of his victories was such as for a time to silence all contradiction. But he was deceived in believing that the banishment of his great opponent had also removed and put an end to the influence of the latter. The ideas of Themistocles lived on, and reappeared with renewed vigour in a younger generation, which was of opinion that the much-blamed one-sidedness of the Themistoclean policy was based upon the only true view of the mission of Athens. Whoever wished to take account of Sparta could, according to their opinion, be no true friend to the glory of Athens. Such a policy was a cowardly line of conduct, which could lead to nothing but half-measures and feebleness, all the more so as no reliance could at any time be placed upon the sincerity of Sparta or her fidelity to the interests of the confederation. Accordingly all such considerations ought to be shaken off, and a bold and resolute advance made, in order that at home the people might be freed from all restrictions upon progress, and that abroad the state might be rendered as strong as possible.

As Cimon considered such party views as these pernicious, he had, in the place of Aristides, taken up the struggle against Themistocles: he had for this reason done as much as was in his power to promote the ostracism of the former, and now continued the struggle against his adherents who kept up a con-

nexion with the exile, and availed themselves of the frequent absence of Cimon to collect their forces. Cimon has been accused of having occasioned the condemnation to death of Epicrates, for having contrived to restore to Themistocles his wife and children. But whatever may be the truth as to this charge, we may be certain that Cimon acted from no vulgar motive of revenge, and ought rather to assume that Epicrates' friendly service was mixed up with political intrigues which might be proved to be dangerous to the public safety, and of a criminal character. So much at the same time is true, that Cimon was not permitted, like Aristides, to occupy a lofty and free eminence above the political tendencies of the times; and it would be marvellous if, after he had once entered into the conflict of parties, his conduct had not become less conciliatory and considerate, and if he had preserved a perfect freedom from all the passions of party.*

The opponents of Cimon.

His political adversaries had on their side all the advantages belonging to a party of progress, but in the first instance there was not a single individual among them who could in any way have opposed to Cimon an influence equal to his own. Among their speakers, Ephialtes, the son of Sophonides, was distinguished by vivacity of mind and restless boldness: their ranks further included Demonides of Œa, Lampo, Charinus, and others. But the party was not really of great importance until Pericles, the son of Xanthippus, joined it, and by the superior force of his mind soon reduced all the rest to followers of himself.

Pericles.

Xanthippus had been the principal opponent of Cimon's father (p. 227). But it would be an injustice to Pericles to suppose that personal circumstances and domestic relations exercised a determining influence upon his choice of a political party. Pericles had formed his view of the mission of Athens by means of his own experience. He felt that his gene-

* See Plut. *Themist.* 24; cf. Vischer, *Kimon*, page 22.

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Pericles recurred to the ideas of Themistocles. He saw clearly that, as Athens had become independent in despite of Sparta, so in despite of Sparta she must attain to the height of her power. His ideas as to the future of Athens could accordingly only be realised, if the power of Cimon were broken; and he therefore joined the party operating with this object. His own personality he kept cautiously in the background, lest he should expend its influence before the time; nor had any but a few of his fellow-partisans any conception of the Athens which was in his mind: all, however, were at one in the persuasion that in the first instance it was necessary to obtain influence by their united exertions, and to place their party in the light of that of the true friends of the people, in order that thus a successful opposition might be made against the splendour of Cimon's military fame, against the winning graces of his personality and the powerful effects of his munificent liberality.

Political tactics of the party of Reform.

The means employed for this purpose were of an extremely effective character: advantage was taken of the popular love of festivals and the hankering after a life of luxury, which were constantly increasing as wealth flowed in and commercial intercourse with Asia advanced. The festivals, it was declared, were surely intended to delight young and old, rich and poor, and to make all class distinctions disappear. But how little was this actually the case, even in Athens, the city famed for her love of civic equality! Not even in the festivals in the theatre of Dionysus, where the tragic choirs enacted their plays for the edification and delectation of all, were the poorer citizens able to take part as spectators, since the new system had been introduced into the theatres, and on every festival-day the seats were sold at two obols apiece. Was this just and fair, to exclude from the joyous festivals of the city, from the days of rest and recreation, the men who shared troubles and dangers with all the rest? And are our poor, it was asked, in truth so devoid of means? Are they not entitled to a share in the treasure of the state, which is the property of the people? Is it right to allow heaps of money to be accumulated there, while its proprietors are forced to deny themselves the most elevating enjoyments of life, which are intended to be participated in by the whole people? A motion was accordingly made to pay to the poor out of the surplus of the public purse the money demanded at the entrance of the newly-built theatre. This money went into the hands of the architect of the theatre, who in return was bound to keep the place in repair, and in addition paid rent to the state. Thus indirectly the money expended by the state returned into its exchequer. This was the introduction of the distribution of the two obols, the *Dioboly*, at the festivals of Dionysus; and after the example had once been set, distributions of money were also fixed for the other festivals, in order that no man might on these days be debarred from enjoying

The Dioboly.

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himself at a meal of greater abundance than was ordinary with him: by this means, and this was the main point, the poor were to be rendered independent of the munificence of richer citizens, who, like Cimon, contrived to gain friends and adherents by keeping open table.

Pericles as the accuser of Cimon.

After the party of Reform had thus established a primary claim to popularity, the first opportunity for an open attack upon Cimon soon presented itself. He was accused of not having advanced against the allies of the revolted Thasians, particularly against Alexander of Macedonia (p. 298), with the energy demanded by the honour and interests of the state. It was declared that he had been strong enough to deprive the king of part of his coast-territory; and that, though he would have been justified in so doing, royal gifts had prevented him. The citizens had been sufficiently worked upon beforehand to induce them to manifest extreme interest in the charge; and to Pericles was assigned the duty as public prosecutor of indicting Cimon before the people of high treason. Pericles on this occasion restricted himself to what was absolutely necessary: he saw that the moment had not yet come for the overthrow of Cimon. The accused proved his innocence, and the matter appeared to lead to no further consequences.

Increase of party feeling and policy.

And yet such consequences actually ensued. The parties had for the first time met face to face—the conflict had commenced; and now Cimon also was forced to draw the bonds of union between himself and those who shared his political views closer than in his generous self-consciousness he had hitherto thought necessary. He became the head of a party, and, seeing opposed to him an adverse party which pursued a definite policy, was himself forced into a more decisive position and into a more definite expression of his views. He now, with less consideration for adverse views, extolled the loyal and constitutional adherence of the citizens of Sparta to their laws; remonstrated

more vehemently against the tendencies of young Athens and their hostility against all ancient usage; and with increasing decisiveness insisted upon his leading principle, according to which Athens and Sparta were the members of one body, a pair yoked together by the gods, in which the calm course of the one and the more rapid of the other were to harmonise for their mutual benefit and advantage. Political party names heightened the critical character of the struggle. Whoever spoke in favour of Sparta, and either praised Spartan usages or himself adopted them, became *eo ipso* an enemy of progress, an enemy of popular liberty: "Laconism" was with increasing plain-spokenness designated as treason against the national interests of Athens.

The Spartans sue for aid from Athens. *Ol.* lxxix. 3. (B.C. 462.)

At the time when the parties stood thus against one another with their weapons of warfare sharpened in their hands, there occurred the earthquake, and in consequence of it the revolution, in Laconia. Sparta was unable to master the rebellious multitude which had established itself in Ithome, and finally despatched envoys to Athens to claim her help as a confederate. This event apparently happened immediately after the termination of the Thasian war. It was the occasion for the second open collision between the parties. Ephialtes found a task exceedingly agreeable to the vehement style of his eloquence, in representing to the people the folly of sending aid to the Spartans in order to maintain their despotism in Peloponnesus. Had the Spartans, he asked, deserved such a service at the hands of Athens? Their real sentiments they had betrayed on a very recent occasion; for the promises they had made to the Thasians were no longer any secret. Such being the sentiments of the confederate sister-city, was it not preposterous to talk of despatching troops to rescue the bitterest of Athens' enemies out of their troubles, so as to enable them on the next occasion which offered itself to do further harm and injury to the simple-minded Athenians?

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Expedition of Cimon to Sparta.

It redounds greatly to the honour of the civic community of Athens, that they refused to acquiesce unconditionally in the tone of a speech which aroused all their passions, and in the end after all assented to the demand of Cimon that they should master the just excitement of the moment, overcome all feelings of satisfaction at Sparta's troubles, and, regardless of their own advantage, act up to their federal obligations. Four thousand heavy-armed troops, *i.e.* one-third of the whole civic levy, marched under Cimon across the Isthmus, in order to save Sparta. This was a splendid victory for Cimon's party; and Sparta had every reason to be grateful to him for his exertions. Instead of this, what actually took place? When the united troops lay before the precipitous walls of Ithome and the siege failed to lead immediately to the desired results, suspicion and mistrust awoke in the minds of the Spartan authorities; they felt (and assuredly not without good reason) that the presence of the Athenians might become dangerous to them in the midst of the feelings of extreme discontent prevailing among the various classes of the Laconian population; they were disturbed by the idea that the Athenians might form too close an acquaintance with the weak points of Sparta, and that the Dorian citizens might suffer from the contagion of the freer views as to social and political life prevalent among their present companions in arms. These anxious fears prevailed over every other consideration. The Athenians were dismissed—an attempt being made to veil the offensive character of the act under the empty pretence that their assistance was no longer required.

Dismissal of the Athenians by the Spartans.

The civic community of Athens was stung to the quick by this intolerable conduct on the part of the Spartans; the Reformers immediately became the most powerful party in the state, and hastened to take advantage of the condition of public feeling to offer proposals leading to the most important results. It was resolved to announce to the ungrateful Spartans the

termination of the alliance of Athens with them, and at the same time to enter into closer relations with the enemies of Sparta, above all with Argos. CHAP. II.

Regeneration of Argos. *Ol.* lxxix. 3. (B.C. 463-2.)

During a period of calm which had lasted for nearly thirty years, the Argives had recovered themselves from the war of Cleomenes (vol. i. p. 376); a new generation had grown up, and felt itself animated by sufficient spirit to entertain serious thoughts of raising the state to its former political position. The city-population was strengthened by accessions out of the country districts; and in the next place the surrounding towns, inhabited by an Achæan population, which during the period of the weakness of Argos had become independent members of the Hellenic confederation (so that they had, as, *e.g.*, in the case of Mycenæ and Tiryns, furnished their own military contingents against the Persians) were one after the other attacked and subdued.

The beginnings of this rise of Argos belong to an earlier date, and it is extremely probable that Themistocles, to whom inaction anywhere was impossible, employed the time of his stay in the city (p. 352) to excite the Argives to these efforts and support them with advice and active participation; and it is equally probable that he also already had in view a closer alliance between Athens and Argos. This assumption helps to explain the bitterness with which he was persecuted by Sparta; for the rise of Argos implied the most dangerous attack upon the hegemony of Sparta. But the actual execution of these measures, particularly the annexation by force of the surrounding cities, probably took place about the years 463 and 462, when Sparta on account of her internal struggles was unable to place obstacles in the way of the advance of the Argive power, and to prevent the destruction of Mycenæ and Tiryns.

But however well the Argives had succeeded in the first beginnings of their political regeneration, they yet needed allies from abroad in order to give security

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to their position. The rupture between Athens and Sparta was accordingly extremely welcome to them. Moreover, Argos, by admitting a numerous Ionico-Achæan population, had more and more lost the character of a Doric city: she had introduced the constitution of a free community, and was now all the more inclined to, and adapted for, an intimate alliance with Athens. Towards the end of the year 461 the alliance between Athens and Argos was accordingly concluded—the first separate alliance between particular states (*Sonderbund*) which broke up the political unity of the Hellenic nation. Thessaly joined the alliance, by a progressive extension of which it was hoped more and more to weaken the ancient confederation of states. Thus, after Sparta had so senselessly sacrificed her party at Athens, its opponents triumphed, and derived an incalculable advantage from the circumstance that henceforth it was impossible to put forward any legal obligations towards Sparta, in order to obstruct Athens in the freedom of her movements.

Separate alliance between Athens, Argos, and Thessaly.

Ol. lxxix. 4. (B.C. 461.)

Yet even now young Athens was unable to advance as it desired. Although in the popular assembly and in the Council of the Five Hundred the majority more and more decisively inclined towards the fiery speakers of the party of Reform, yet the elder citizens, who were strongly against a still more universal and unlimited participation of the people in public business, and against all new institutions of such a tendency, continued to constitute a power in the state. They found their main support in the High Council of the Areopagus, in which sat only such citizens as on account of more advanced age, ample experience, and calmness of mind were independent of the influence of public opinion. The Areopagus was principally composed of men of the upper classes in the property census, and in contrast with all the other offices of state, the occupants of which annually changed and had to render an account of their administration, formed the one corporation of members elected for

Conservative influence of the Areopagus at Athens.

life and irresponsible, and was accordingly thoroughly adapted for asserting its views in the state with firmness and unanimity. The Areopagites were in virtue of their superintending office called upon to watch over society, to guard ancient morality and usage, and to oppose themselves to a frivolous hankering after innovation. Powerful by the authority which it enjoyed in all Hellas, yet more powerful on account of the reverence which all Athenians entertained from their youth up towards the High Council, the Areopagus had risen to a still loftier eminence of dignity during the Persian troubles, in which by its energy and patriotism it had essentially contributed to the salvation of Athens (p. 283). Thus it opposed itself like a strong bulwark to all attempts to alter the constitution of Solon; and in proportion as the efforts of the adverse party increased in vehemence and its advance in audacity, the Areopagus also maintained its position with greater and more obstinate inflexibility. CHAP. II.

The Areopagus was not an upper chamber, to which was constitutionally reserved a final confirmation of legislative acts; it rather followed the course of all transactions in the council and the civic body, in whose assemblies it was probably represented by individual members of the college, in order to interfere in the case of all innovations which the latter considered dangerous. This interference amounted to a veto; for in the first instance no possible chance existed of passing a measure thus protested against. While in the Athenian state everything else moved according to perfectly fixed rules, the power of the Areopagus was without any definite limitations, and accordingly greater in proportion—a power which reached into the council-hall, to the Pnyx, nay, to the domestic hearth. Every one might be summoned before it, and the mere reception of a warning from it was regarded as a lasting stigma. The Areopagites formed no close corporation, but year by year admitted amongst them the archons going out of office (vol. i. p. 336). By this,

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however, it is not implied that every one who had filled his office according to the laws immediately became a member of the High Council. Before the admission an examination took place; and this examination was probably also made use of to reject such archons as had given offence by their moral and political conduct. Thus it is intelligible how the Areopagus assumed a more and more sharply-defined party position, and grew more and more estranged from the movement which had seized upon young Athens; and thus it happened that at the same period in which the whole of Greece had become divided into two halves—alliance and counter-alliance—Athens herself contained two political camps which stood opposed to one another with increasing intensity.*

In the midst of this highly critical time occurred an event which for a short season diverted the general attention from the internal affairs of Greece.

Cimon's expedition to Egypt.
Ol. lxxx. 1. (B.C. 460.)

Egypt, the land of perpetual unrest, had again thrown off the Persian yoke, and the Libyan Inarus, the son of Psammetichus, thought to take advantage of the confusion prevailing in the Persian empire in order to establish an independent kingdom of Pharaohs. But the native resources proved insufficient, when, after defeating their other enemies, the Persians threw themselves with their entire strength upon Egypt; and accordingly he asked for aid from the Athenians, doubtless promising them a variety of mercantile advantages.

This opportunity of inflicting new damage upon the Persian empire could not be allowed to pass by. Here was the opportunity, otherwise denied, of exercising the navy in battle. For the Persian power was crippled in the whole circle of the Archipelago: it

* The admission into the Areopagus was preceded by an examination (Plutarch, *Pericl.* c. 9). If this δοκιμασία, as seems probable, was instituted by the Areopagites themselves, the filling-up of the college was based upon a kind of co-optation. Sintenis, *ad* Plut. *Pericl.* p. 106, assumes Ephialtes to have been rejected at one of these examinations, and his anger to have been thus aroused against the college.

nowhere showed itself, and had been deprived of the means of forming a new fleet. On the other hand, the Athenians were unable to attack the Persians in their own country, since, to the grief of the party of Cimon, the ancient Hellenic confederation had been dissolved. The Egyptian river-land seemed to be a suitable ground for new undertakings. Egypt was of extreme importance to Attica, which had so little corn of its own; and Egypt was at the same time the only part of the Persian monarchy where a fleet might, even unsupported by a land-army, achieve lasting and considerable results. Unless the possession of Egypt were secured to him, the Great King was crippled in all his undertakings against Greece itself. Thus there were reasons enough for acceding to the request of Inarus: and it appears that Cimon himself led the fleet from Cyprus, where it lay two hundred sail strong, to Egypt; for, notwithstanding the defeat which his line of policy had experienced, his personal authority still remained unbroken. Thus much is certain, that Ephialtes availed himself of the absence of Cimon on a foreign campaign to introduce in the civic assembly the long-prepared law against the Areopagus.*

Law of Ephialtes abolishing the political influence of the Areopagus. *Ol.* lxxx. 1. (B.C. 460.)

Once more he brought forward all the arguments for convincing the citizens of the impossibility of reconciling the full power of the Areopagus with the principles of democracy. It was, he averred, intolerable that a college of aged individuals, incapable of understanding the times and their claims, should from a perverse spirit of caste oppose all salutary and necessary reforms; such an Areopagus was no longer what Solon had intended it to be,—one of the two anchors holding the ship of state in the midst of its movement fast to the ground of the constitution;—but rather a burdensome drag, an unbearable chain, fettering the civic community in its desire for the freedom of move-

* See Vischer, *Kimon*, page 58 f.; Campe, *N. Jahrb. für Philol.* lxv. page 279; *Ægypten's Bedeutung für Attica*, page 233; cf. Arist. *Rhetor.* ii. c. 20.

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ment to which it was entitled; the Areopagus was the seat of a party hostile to the people, and must be broken up, if the full developement of the Attic power was to be rendered possible. In vain the elder fathers of families, who could not and would not conceive of an Athens without its High Council of the Areopagus, uttered their remonstrances, and the priests and seers their warnings. The law depriving the Areopagus of all influence on the conduct of public affairs and on legislation was passed. At the same time care was taken not to touch the rights eternally secured to the Areopagus by the sanction of religion. Accordingly it retained the judgment in high capital cases, concerning the impious murder of a citizen. For in such cases the expiation could only be accomplished in accordance with mysterious statutes belonging to the worship of the Erinyes, the avengers of the guilt of blood. The Areopagites were from the earliest times the ministers of these venerable goddesses, whose sanctuary lay by the hill of Ares on which the judges assembled. Henceforth the Areopagus ceased to be a high council of the Attic community, a superintendent office of censorial and indefinite authority; and became a court of judicature acting within accurately defined limits.

This radical reform of the legislation of Solon was in the end carried more rapidly than had been expected. The conservative party found itself disarmed, and deprived of the most effective means of opposing the reckless advance of the civic community. But as yet the party was not discouraged. Cimon returned. To him the Areopagus, on account of its estimation throughout the whole of Greece, was of paramount importance. He was resolved to save what still could be saved; nay, he even thought it possible to recall the act of violence which had been committed against the system of the state. It was indeed possible to deny the legality of the late constitutional reform, on the ground that no heed had been taken of the

constitutional objection on the part of the Areopagus. Cimon regarded this reform as a revolution, and apprehended as its inevitable consequence the downfall of the state: for what else could be the result, if all limits were removed from the power of the people;—if this people became omnipotent, and, intoxicated with the feeling of being able to carry through whatsoever it desired, should wish to rule the entire state according to its whims.

Ostracism of Cimon. Ol. lxxx. 1-2. (B.C. 459 *circ.*)

Thus even after the law of Ephialtes had passed, a violent struggle took place concerning the Areopagus. It was an open struggle between two parties, both of which were powerful and resolved to proceed to extremities. Under these circumstances, ostracism could alone serve to save the state from the most dangerous of conflicts. The citizens, excited by the orators, pronounced against the man whom for ten years they had celebrated as their hero and favourite, and Cimon was sent into banishment. A variety of personal reasons, in particular his former relations with Epinice, are said to have been made use of on this occasion. But the main cause was Cimon's refusal to submit to the new order of things which the party of Pericles had carried by its leader Ephialtes.

Æschyli Orestea.

From the midst of the passionate agitations and conflicts of these years issued forth, like a glorified expression of their party struggles, the *Orestea* of Æschylus, which was acted in Ol. lxxx. 2 (458 B.C.). Æschylus belonged to the Athenians of the elder generation, who, grown up in reverential awe of the Areopagus, could not witness its abasement without grief and sorrow. He employed the resources of his art to place the Areopagus before the eyes of his fellow-citizens under the full halo of the ancient myths, in order that, though suffering a diminution of its honours, it might appear as a sanctuary of the city, and be spared any further attacks. Accordingly, Orestes is made to fly at the command of Apollo from his pursuers the Erinyes, to Athens, where Pallas Athene

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assembles the court of judicature which is to determine the legal issue between the god of grace and the powers of the lower regions. Thus we may regard this tragedy as the harmonising termination of one of the sorest constitutional struggles through which Athens had to pass.

Yet this struggle had not been lightly begun, and it was by its nature inevitable. For although the motives inducing the older Athenians to gather round the Areopagus as round a bulwark of ancient morality and usage did honour to their sentiments, it is at the same time undeniable that the Areopagus presented an obstacle to the popular developement of the constitution. Not until after the reform of Ephialtes could the principles of democracy be carried out, above all the universal responsibility of public officers. Henceforth there no longer existed in the state any corporation the members of which possessed a power granted for life and independent of public opinion, and in the exercise of this power were only accountable to their own conscience. Not until now had the civic community become possessed of full freedom from all paternal superintendence, or become forced to govern itself, and in itself to find the right measure of advance. It had now attained to complete self-government. Its decrees are laws, and by the side of the written laws exist no other valid rules of public life. The state is henceforth "council and citizens," and the council is composed of members changing from year to year, so that it cannot become a mere party in the state, and has lost all independent authority in its relations to the popular assembly. For in the main the council was merely a committee of that assembly for the execution of administrative business; and similarly the annual officers of state were mere ministers of the national will.

The substitute for the Areopagus: the Nomophylaccs.

But when an office of so high an importance and duties so comprehensive as those which belonged to the Areopagus was suddenly deprived of its authority, it became necessary at the same time to substitute

something else in its place, lest the state, deprived of all restraining forces, should lose its balance, and hurry forward into a premature developement. The permanency of constitutional life and a harmony between the older and newer laws had to be provided for; a control was necessary, but was henceforth to proceed from the civic body itself. For this purpose a commission was annually chosen out of their number by lot—the so-called guardians of the law (*Nomophylaces*), who occupied particular seats of honour at all the assemblies of the council and of the people, and whose duty it was to examine the motions of the orators, and enter their protest against all resolutions dangerous to the state or opposed to the constitution. By this means the veto of the Areopagites was preserved to the state, though it is true that this control as a rule only referred to the form of the motions, to the preservation of an external harmony among the laws, and to the maintenance of ancient usage.

Furthermore a substitute was doubtless found for the superintendence of public life, and particularly of the education of the young, which formed so important a part of the duties of the Areopagites; and it is probable that the offices of the *Sophronistæ* and the *Gynæconomi*, who had respectively to superintend the discipline of the boys and the manners and morals of the female sex, were either instituted at this period, or at all events then first became independent offices. But the main point was this, that henceforth it was the duty of every citizen to take care for the maintenance of public order as established by law, and to protest against every unconstitutional act. A universal acquaintance with the existing laws became of corresponding importance; therefore the tables of the law of Solon were brought down from the Acropolis, and, for the purpose of greater publicity, set up in the cloistered halls on the market-place.*

The Sophronistæ and Gynæconomi.

* Philochorus, *Fr.* 141[b] (*Fr. Hist. Græc.* i. p. 401), testifies to the connexion between the institution of the Nomophylaces and the limita-

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Completion of the democratic system.

Within the civic body itself the principle of equality was carried out with increasing thoroughness. The public treasury continued more and more to be used for the purpose of freeing the poorer citizens from the influence which might be exercised upon them by the munificence of the rich; of gaining their favour by means of presents and distributions of corn; and by compensation in money inducing them more and more generally to take part in public affairs. For upon the multitude of the poorer citizens was based the power of the party of Reform.

While thus in the inner life of the state the party of Reform laboured to call the democracy, in the full sense of the word, into life, and to give to the majority of the citizens the absolute decision of all questions of the day, the same party endeavoured in every way to secure and increase the power of Athens abroad.

The confederation of Delos was founded on equality of rights; but it was impossible to carry out this principle. If it was really intended to establish an authoritative naval power in the Archipelago, it could not be left to the goodwill of the individual members of the confederation to determine whether they would fulfil their obligations. It was equally out of the question that the confederates could be assembled to consult in common as to the remedy for every particular grievance, and as to the means of settling every dispute. So much even Cimon had been forced to acknowledge, however greatly in other respects he endeavoured in the sense of Aristides to respect the rights of the lesser states. Athens was obliged to act more and more according to her own will. This was rendered necessary by the circumstances of the case; for in proportion as one confederate state after another retired from active war-service, and found it more convenient

tion of the powers of the Areopagus: cf. Schömann, *Verfassungsgeschichte Athens*, page 77; Scheibe, *Oligarch. Umwälzung*, page 151. As to the exposition of Solon's laws on the market-place, cf. Curtius *Attische Studien*, ii. p. 66.

to furnish money and ships without crews, the confederate navy became an Attic force; and the Delian Diet was coming gradually to be reduced to a mere form. The Athenians arrived at an understanding with the more powerful among the island states as to more important matters; the other states had to content themselves with merely receiving an announcement of the measures resolved upon, and thus the position of Athens as a federal leader gradually changed into that of a sovereign mistress.

Transfer of the confederate Treasury to Athens. (B.C. 460 *circ.*)

In this matter also the party of Pericles advocated an open and resolute assertion of the actual state of the case. If Athens was really the only state in the confederation which pursued a policy of its own; if the conduct of the war and the superintendence of the materials of war actually lay with her; if the administration of the moneys was in her hands; if Attic citizens with their ships formed the most considerable part and the central body of the confederate navy; if they alone were always ready for battle, as it was again they who had annihilated the maritime dominion of the barbarians;—if these things were so, then Athens ought also openly to take up her position as the centre of the island and coast-empire united under her; then the administration of that empire, and particularly the confederate treasury, equally belonged to Athens. The question of the removal of the treasury is said to have been discussed even during the lifetime of Aristides. The advantage of such a measure from the Attic point of view was absolutely undeniable, but at the same time it was feared to put it forward without disguise. The unpopularity of such a step was apprehended, as well as the excitement it would produce among both friends and enemies; for it was evident that it would take away the last semblance of a confederation with equal rights, and that the confederate contributions to the common treasury would be regarded as a tribute paid to Athens.

The hesitation of the Athenians on this point is

CHAP. II. shown by the fact that, even when they had firmly resolved upon taking the decisive step, they attempted to reach their end by a circuitous path. The transfer of the treasury was not to appear in the light of a selfish measure of Attic policy; and it was accordingly contrived that the proposal should emanate from one of the confederates themselves. The deputies of the Samians, in the interest of the confederation, pointed out the insecurity of Delos, a small island lying unprotected in the middle of the sea, both on the east side and on the west. Already in the Thasian war the Lacedæmonians had plainly shown how gladly they availed themselves of the first opportunity to destroy the Attico-Ionic naval power; the general insecurity had increased in a high degree since the dissolution of the Hellenic confederation; the maritime states of Peloponnesus lay in wait, like enemies in ambush, by the side of the island-sea; and under these circumstances the treasury at Delos could no longer be deemed so secure as the interests of the confederates demanded. At Delos it was necessary always to have a separate protecting fleet in the vicinity, which again hindered a free disposition of the existing naval forces of the confederation. But if a place of impregnable security was desired, such a one could only be found behind the walls of Athens. As the treasury had been already entrusted to the care of Attic officers, Athens might with equal confidence be constituted the treasury, and her citizens the guardians of the moneys, of the confederation.*

Soon after the open rupture with Sparta, the moneys, amounting to 1,800 talents, were transferred from the sanctuary of the Delian Apollo to Athens, and deposited in the temple of the goddess of city and citadel. Henceforth it was hither that the annual contributions of the allied states flowed; and Athens was henceforth the declared capital of the Ægean, the goddess of her citadel its protecting divinity, her

* See Note XXIII. Appendix.

Acropolis its treasury and the sacred centre of the great empire of islands and coasts.

Athens and her maritime neighbours.

In this situation, and possessed of these resources, Athens had now above all things to acquire for herself a firmer position in the more limited circles of the Greek states in her immediate vicinity. For it seemed a strange contradiction that with her navy she held sway as far as the waters of the Pontus and of Phœnicia, while in the sea which washed the coast of Attica she was still fettered by the neighbourhood of hostile states. Here it was necessary for her to acquire freedom of movement: she could not allow hostile maritime states to exist in sight of her harbours of war and to lie in wait for inflicting damage upon her. The alliance with Argos had opened up a new combination capable of an important developement: but it was a beginning which would remain without security and without a future so long as Athens was separated from her Peloponnesian allies by hostile cities, and hindered in all freedom of movement on the frontiers of her own country. The old Peloponnesian confederation and the separate alliance between Attica and Argos could not possibly exist side by side; one would necessarily endeavour to extend itself at the expense of the other.

Conflicts in Peloponnesus: Tegea and Mantinea.

Here, again, the situation of affairs was favourable to Athens; for the affairs of Peloponnesus were undeniably, since the trial of Pausanias, in a state of progressive dissolution. Argos had been for a considerable period busily engaged in exciting the towns and rural districts of Arcadia to revolt against Sparta; and succeeded in this attempt, though not at the same time, in the case of the two capitals of Arcadia—Tegea and Mantinea. The Tegeatæ were on a footing of hostility with Sparta, when Leotychides was a fugitive on the charge of high treason (p. 364), and afforded him hospitality and protection. Twice the Spartans were obliged to invade Arcadia, in order to restore the

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endangered supremacy of their influence—once against the allied Argives and Tegeatæ, and afterwards against an army of the Arcadians, who, with the exception of the Mantineans, had all united and made front against the Spartans near Dipæa, in the Mænalian mountains. In both campaigns the victory remained with the Spartans, but the ancient relations of trust in the confederation, and the habit of unconditional subordination, were for ever at an end. The Mantineans had also, under the influence of the Argives, built a fortified city in the place of a number of scattered villages, in order to be able to resist Sparta with greater independence and self-reliance. Had not ancient party feeling and jealousy among the cantons hindered the union of the forces, the Spartans would have found extreme difficulty in maintaining their authority as a federal capital. Achaia, the Peloponnesian country furthest distant from Sparta, had from an early period been anti-Spartan and democratic.

Elis.

Finally, Elis also, hitherto the most faithful among the confederates, had begun to free herself from the Laconian influence. Popular movements had here taken place which endangered the authority of Sparta. Hitherto Elis had been governed by the noble families who entirely rested on Spartan support. They had their seat in the city of Elis, on the Peneus: the flat country consisted of unfortified places, villages, and farms, whose inhabitants came rarely into town, and allowed the families to govern in peace. This patriarchal state of affairs had continued undisturbed for centuries, on account of the sagacious conduct of the nobility and the monotonous habits of life of the population, who had little to do with trade and maritime intercourse. But now the spirit of the times asserted itself here as elsewhere; the rural population demanded the full political franchise; the whole country was re-organised according to its local districts; and, by an accession of population out of the widely-scattered villages, the little town

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New Elis. Ol. lxxiv. 2. (B.C. 471 *circ.*)

now became a populous capital and collective city for the whole country. This happened Ol. lxxiv. 2 (471 B.C.) or a few years later. With the downfall of the ancient families,* the introduction of the democratic form of constitution, and the building of New Elis, the influence of Sparta was crippled and her power deprived of one of its most efficient supports in Peloponnesus. To bow her down to a yet lower depth the earthquake supervened (464 B.C.), and the great loss of life consequent upon it; and next the Messenian war, which tied the hands of the Lacedæmonians for a period of ten years. Under these circumstances nothing could be done on the part of Sparta to oppose the establishment and extension of the separate alliance between Athens and Argos; and accordingly the states of Northern Peloponnesus commenced their armaments against Athens on their own account, in order to obtain by force what formerly they had achieved by secret intrigues and by pushing forward Sparta (p. 323). To stop the progress of the Attic power was a necessary condition of their own existence; and thus a new warlike group of states formed itself among the members of the disrupted confederation.

War between the North Peloponnesian maritime states and Athens. Ol. lxxx. 3. (B.C. 458.)

The Corinthians entered into a secret alliance with Ægina and Epidaurus, and endeavoured to extend their territory and obtain strong positions beyond the Isthmus at the expense of Megara. This they considered of special importance to them, inasmuch as they knew the Megareans, whose small country lay in the midst between the two hostile alliances, to be allies little deserving of trust. Though they were bound by ancient treaties to the Dorian peninsula, the interests of trade and daily intercourse directed them entirely towards Attica; for the majority of the Megarean population lived by supplying the Attic market with fish, vegetables, &c. A hostile attitude on the part of Athens would accordingly have endangered the

* See Clinton, *Fasti Hell.* ii. p. 428 j (according to Diod. xi. 54).

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prosperity of the whole of the little country. Moreover, democratic tendencies were not absent, which were heightened by the dislike felt against Corinth.

The fears of the Corinthians were realised sooner than they had anticipated. The Megareans, under the pressure of events, renounced their treaty obligations to Sparta and joined the Attico-Argive alliance. Notwithstanding the small extent of the country in question, this act drew after it important consequences, not only as an example, but especially because the situation of Megara was so important from a strategical point of view. The passes of the Geranea, the inlets and outlets of the Doric peninsula, now fell into the hands of the Athenians: Megara became an outwork of Athens; Attic troops occupied its towns; Attic ships cruised in the Gulf of Corinth, where harbours stood open to them at Pegæ and Ægosthena. The Athenians were eager to unite Megara as closely as possible to themselves, and for this reason immediately built two lines of walls, which connected Megara with its port Nisæa, eight stadia off, and rendered both places impregnable to the Peloponnesians.

Ol. lxxx. 2. (B.C. 459.)

This extension of the hostile power to the boundaries of the Isthmus and into the waters of the western gulf seemed to the maritime cities of Peloponnesus to force them into action. Corinth, Epidaurus, and Ægina commenced an offensive war against Athens—a war which opened without having been formally declared; and Athens unhesitatingly accepted the challenge thrown out with sufficient distinctness in the armaments of her adversaries. Myronides, an experienced general and statesman, who nineteen years ago had appeared at Sparta as envoy together with the father of Pericles, landed with an Attic squadron near Halieis (where the frontiers of the Epidaurians and Argives met), and here found a united force of Corinthians, Epidaurians, and Æginetans awaiting him. Myronides was un-

successful in his campaign. A few months later the hostile fleets met off the island of Cecryphalea, between Ægina and the coast of Epidaurus. The Athenians were victorious, and the struggle now closed round Ægina itself. Immediately opposite the island ensued a second great naval battle. Seventy of the enemy's ships fell into the hands of the Athenians, whose victorious fleet without delay surrounded Ægina.

The struggle for Ægina.

Victory of Myronides.

The Peloponnesians were fully aware of the importance of Ægina to them. Three hundred hoplites came to the relief of the island, and the Corinthians marched across the Geranea into Megaris to the relief of Ægina. It seemed impossible that, while the fleet of the Athenians was fighting in the land of the Nile and another was lying before Ægina, they should have a third army in readiness for Megara. But the Peloponnesians had no conception of the capabilities of action belonging to the Athenians. True, the whole military levy was absent from the country, and only enough men were left at home for the mere defence of the walls. Yet all were notwithstanding agreed that neither should Ægina be given up nor the new allies be left in the lurch. Myronides advanced to meet the Corinthians with troops composed of those who had passed the age of military service or not yet reached it. In the first fight he held his ground: when the hostile forces returned for the second time, they were routed with tremendous loss. Megara was saved, and the energy of the Athenians had been most splendidly established. In attestation of it the sepulchral pillars were erected in the Ceramicus, on which were inscribed the names of the Athenian soldiers who had fallen in one and the same year (Ol. lxxx. 3; B.C. 458-7) off Cyprus, in Egypt, Phœnicia, Halieis, Ægina, and Megara. A fragment of this remarkable historical document is preserved to this day.*

While thus many years' accumulation of com-

* See Böckh, *Corp. Inscr. Gr.* n. 165.

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The Spartans in Bœotia. Ol. lxxx. 4. (B.C. 457.)

bustible materials had suddenly broken out into a flame of the fiercest war in Central Greece, new complications also arose in the north. The Thebans, who had suffered so deep a humiliation, believed the time to have arrived when the events of the past were forgotten, and when they could attain to new importance and power. In opposition to them the Phocians put forth their strength, whom the progress of the Athenian power encouraged to oppose the influence of the Dorians in their own neighbourhood. The Dorian communities in the rear of Parnassus were only held fast by the influence of Sparta. After the dissolution of the Hellenic confederation, and the calamities which had befallen the Spartans, the Phocians thought they might venture an attack upon the Dorian tetrapolis, in order to extend their frontiers in this direction. The feeling in favour of the Medes displayed by these cities might be put forward as the cause of these hostile operations.

Movement of the Phocians.

For Sparta it was a point of honour not to desert the primitive communities of the Dorian race. She roused herself to a vigorous effort, and, notwithstanding all her losses and the continuance of the war in Messenia, was able to send 11,000 men of her own troops and those of the confederates across the Isthmus before the Athenians had time to place any obstacles in their way. The Phocians were forced to relinquish their conquests. But when the Spartan troops were about to return home across the Isthmus they found the mountain-passes occupied by Athens, and the Gulf of Corinth made equally insecure by the presence of hostile ships. Nothing remained for the Lacedæmonians but to march into Bœotia, when their presence was welcome to Thebes. They entered the valley of the Asopus, and encamped in the territory of Tanagra, not far from the frontiers of Attica. Without calculating the consequences, the Athenians had brought themselves into an extremely dangerous situation. After habituating themselves

for years to take thought of the sea alone, they suddenly found themselves threatened in the rear by a very dangerous land-force.

Treasonable conspiracies at Athens.

Their difficulties increased when, contemporaneously, evil signs of treasonable plots made their appearance in the interior of the city. For since the conservative party had been deprived of the constitutional means which the Areopagus had offered to it, the more passionate of its adherents began to open a countermine upon the democracy by means of secret intrigues. A terrible sign of the fury of party-hatred, which shunned no way of furthering its designs, was given in the murder of Ephialtes. He was found one morning dead in his bed. The instigators of the deed attempted to throw the guilt upon Pericles.

The bitterest enemies of the popular government united more closely; and, as in their own city they were powerless, sought for support abroad. They redoubled their exertions when the building of the walls which Cimon had begun was once more taken in hand. For as yet Athens and Piræeus formed two separate towns. But when the connecting walls should have been once completed, Sparta would, however much she desired it, be unable to offer any assistance to her party in Athens, and all external aid would be cut off from it. Therefore negotiations had been commenced with Sparta, and secret messages had determined the Peloponnesian army to advance to the frontiers of Attica.

Thus, then, it was now necessary to contend simultaneously against foes within and foes without, to defend the constitution as well as the independence of the state. Nor was the question merely as to an isolated attack and a transitory danger; for the conduct of the Spartans in Bœotia clearly showed that it was now their intention to restore to power Thebes, the very city which they had formerly themselves humiliated so deeply (p. 310), because they were anxious to have in the rear of Athens a state able to stop the extension of the Attic power in Central Greece. This

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intention could be best fulfilled by supporting Thebes in the subjugation of the other Bœotian cities. For this purpose the Peloponnesians had busily strengthened the Theban, *i.e.* the oligarchical party, in the whole of the country, and encircled Thebes itself with new fortifications. Thebes was from a country town to become a great city, an independent fortified position, and a base for the Peloponnesian cause in Central Greece.

Athenian defeat at Tanagra,

Hence Athens could not have found herself threatened by a more dangerous complication. The whole civic army accordingly took the field, amounting, together with the Argives and other allies, to 14,000 men, besides a body of Thessalian cavalry. In the low ground by the Asopus below Tanagra the armies met. An arduous and sanguinary struggle ensued, in which for the first time Athens and Sparta mutually tested their powers in a regular battle. For a long time the result was doubtful; till in the very thick of the battle the cavalry went over to the enemy, probably at the instigation of the Laconian party. This act of treason decided the day in favour of Sparta, although patriotic Athenians would never consent to count this among the battles lost by Athens. The Spartans were far from fulfilling the expectations of the party of the Oligarchs. As soon as they knew that the passes of the Isthmus were once more open, they took their departure towards the fall of the year through Megara, making this little country suffer for its defection by the devastation of its territory. They were satisfied with having restored their authority in Central Greece. They reckoned upon Thebes being for the present strong enough to maintain herself against her neighbours; for ulterior offensive operations against Athens, Tanagra was to serve as a base.*

The plan was good, and the conjuncture of affairs favourable. But whatever the Spartans did, they did only by halves: they concluded a truce for four

* See Note XXIV. Appendix.

months, and quitted the ground. The Athenians, on the other hand, had no intention of allowing a menacing power to establish itself on the frontiers of their country. Without waiting for the return of the fair season, they crossed Mount Parnes two months after the battle, before any thoughts of war were entertained in Bœotia; Myronides, who was in command, defeated the Theban army which was to defend the valley of the Asopus, near Œnophyta. This battle with one blow put an end to all the plans of Thebes; the walls of Tanagra were razed. Myronides continued his march from town to town; everywhere the existing governments were overthrown, and democratic constitutions established with the help of Attic partisans. The order of things was, as it were, inverted throughout Bœotia; the ancient families fled the country, and Thebes was left without any power of resistance. Thus, after a passing humiliation, Athens was soon more powerful than ever, and her sway extended as far as the frontiers of the Phocians. Nay, during the same campaign she extended her military dominion as far as Locris. The Opuntian Locrians, who inhabited the fertile plain of the coast on the Euripus to the north of Bœotia, went over to Athens, and sent one hundred hostages out of the leading families of the community, which had hitherto conducted the government in Opus.

and victory at Œnophyta. *Ol.* lxxx. 4. (B.C. 457-6.)

Meanwhile the Æginetans also were gradually losing their power of resistance (p. 393). For nine months they had resisted the Attic squadron, which under the command of Leocrates lay before their city: in vain they had during this period looked for help from Sparta, for whom they had done good service as recently as in the Messenian war—in vain for assistance from their Peloponnesian allies. Now their strength was exhausted; and the proud island of the Æacidæ, which Pindar had sung as the mother of the men who

Fall of Ægina.

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in the glorious rivalry of the festive games shone out before all other Hellenes, had to bow down before the irresistible good fortune of the Athenians, and was forced to pull down her walls, to deliver up her vessels of war, and bind herself to the payment of tribute.

Completion of the fortifications of Athens.

Contemporaneously with this event, the two arms of walls (τὰ σκέλη) between the upper and lower town were completed. Athens was now placed beyond the fear of any attack. Her own sea was at last free from all enemies; in addition to the far-reaching island and coast territories over which she ruled as over her empire, she had obtained a body of continental allies, reaching in an unbroken line from Argos and Megara as far as Delphi, and towards Thermopylæ. The Peloponnesian confederation was shaken to its very foundations; and Sparta was still let and hindered by the Messenian revolt, while the Athenians were able freely to dispose of their military and naval forces.

Fall of Ithome. *Ol.* lxxxi. 1. (B.C. 456.)

The struggle between the confederations was continued after a new fashion. For the first time Sparta was frightened out of her security in her own country. Attic ships of war, under the command of Tolmides, appeared off the coast of Laconia; and what Themistocles had years ago desired in order to secure absolute supremacy to the naval power of Athens, was now actually carried out, when the docks of Gytheum were consumed by the flames. Without meeting with any resistance, Tolmides sailed round the whole of the peninsula; probably also with the intention of preventing the Spartans from suppressing the Messenian revolt, and of coming to the rescue of the heroic defenders of Ithome, whose resistance against Sparta had lasted over nine years. The Messenians were, however, unable to hold out any longer; and, as under existing circumstances Sparta necessarily wished to put an end to the war at any price, the besieged were allowed to depart unhurt with their wives and children. The Athenians immediately extended succour to them, and

very sagaciously contrived to employ this last remnant of free Messenians for the furtherance of their own objects. Tolmides had asserted the naval power of Athens even in the Gulf of Corinth; he had occupied the town of Chalcis on the Ætolian coast; he had plundered Sicyon, and taken Naupactus on the coast of Locris. This port, from which the Dorian invaders had once crossed to the peninsula, was now placed in the hands of the Messenians, and thus became one of the most important fortified positions against Sparta and her allies.*

The Messenians established at Naupactus.

The Athenians still continued their unwearied onward course. The unfortunate turn which affairs took in Egypt (p. 380), where, in the fourth year of the war, Megabazus attacked the rebels with a superior force, in the next year blockaded the Athenians and Egyptians on the Nile-island Prosopitis, and there almost annihilated them, yet failed to discourage the citizens. Before the year was out, an expedition was undertaken into Thessaly, in which for the first time the troops of the Bœotian and Phocian allies were united under the command of Athens, in order to restore to power Orestes, the dynast of Pharsalus, to break the power of the Thessalian aristocracy, and extend the influence of Athens as far as the northern frontiers of Greece. The expedition, however, led to no results, the allies being unable to cope with the enemy's cavalry in the vast plain.

Athenian expeditions to Thessaly,

Ol. lxxxi. 3. (B.C. 454-3.)

The fleet, which was in the same year commanded by Pericles, was more successful. His intention was principally directed to the establishment of the Attic power in the Gulf of Corinth, where Pegæ had become the Athenian harbour-of-war. From here Pericles effected a landing in Sicyon and defeated its citizens, who marched out to meet him. The Achæan cities were admitted into the Attic alliance, and the coasts of Acarnania threatened.

and Achaia.

After these immense efforts, these campaigns by land

* See Note XXV. Appendix.

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Return of Cimon.

Ol. lxxxi. 3. (B.C. 454 *circ.*)

and sea, which succeeded to one another year after year, a period of comparative calm ensued. The inner life of the community too had relapsed into comparative tranquillity, and the hostility between the parties had lost its keenness. Pericles himself was by nature anything rather than a hard and unbending party-man: in his own interest he desired the return of Cimon. If he succeeded in effecting a union with the latter, his own political position would only gain in security; moreover, Pericles was very anxious to see negotiations opened with Sparta, as he had no wish for an uninterrupted continuance of warlike relations. He was himself unable to open such negotiations: Cimon, on the other hand, was the right man for the task, and the very circumstance of his recall would necessarily be regarded as a step towards a better understanding with Sparta. The execution of Pericles' wishes was facilitated by the division which had taken place in the conservative party on account of the treasonable plots before the battle of Tanagra. Cimon and his more immediate adherents loathed the virulence of a partisanship which could so utterly renounce the common feeling of patriotism as to treat with the native enemy. In order clearly to show his abhorrence of such men, Cimon had appeared in person at Tanagra, and requested permission, though an exile, to enter the ranks of his fellow-citizens. He had not been admitted; but his adherents, one hundred in number, had sought a voluntary death in hand-to-hand fight with the Spartans, in order to display the purity of their sentiments. This had occasioned a mutual approximation of parties, and Pericles himself now proposed to the people the recall of Cimon, after the latter had lived for nearly five years in exile.

Before this step took place, the two statesmen had already entered into detailed negotiations with one another. Elpinice, the sister of Cimon, is said to have mediated between them. It was unnecessary for them to arrive at an understanding as to the future

conduct of public affairs, unless the state was again immediately to fall asunder into two hostile parties; and this understanding was facilitated by the circumstance that Cimon's party no longer existed in the same way as formerly. The essential points of their agreement may be gathered from a review of what took place and what did not take place, after the return of Cimon. For if in home affairs Cimon no longer opposed the policy of Pericles, he must have consented to abstain on this head from farther cavil at the reforms which had been actually effected. Pericles, on the other hand, must have agreed to support the wishes of Cimon in foreign policy, to procure for him once more the command of the fleet against Persia, and to cease from irritating Sparta by further attacks. It cannot be considered a mere accident, that after the establishment of an understanding between these two statesmen the hostile landings on the Peloponnesian coast came to an immediate end. The activity of the citizens was, instead, to be once more directed to foreign lands—their valour was to continue to be exercised on neutral ground; and by sending out colonists the wants of the poorer population and the firmer establishment of the maritime dominion of Athens were at the same time to be provided for. CHAP. II.

Thus Pericles himself led a fleet to the Hellespont, where the allies of Athens had constantly to suffer from vexatious pressure at the hands of the Thracians. It would seem as if he had, as a personal attention to Cimon, designed to continue the edifice founded by the ancestors of the latter, by renewing the wall of defence erected by Miltiades, and by converting the peninsula on the Hellespont into an Attic territory through the establishment there of a colony of one thousand citizens. The operations of Tolmides, who settled Attic citizens on Eubœa and Naxos, were due to the same intention.

In the meantime Cimon was, according to the agreement, engaged in restoring relations between Athens

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Conclusion of the Five Years' Truce with Sparta.

Ol. lxxxii. 2. (B.C. 451-450.)

and Sparta, in which the rights of either should receive a legal sanction. For since the dissolution of the ancient confederation, there existed two leagues in the face of one another: open war prevailed in Hellas, in plain contravention of the Amphictyonic ordinances, which still continued to be acknowledged as law and asserted at Delphi. Cimon was indeed unable to effect the conclusion of a treaty of peace, as he, and doubtless Pericles also, desired. For Sparta could not, under the unfavourable circumstances then existing, bring herself to fetter her future action for a period of any great length; nor would the Corinthians consent to a peace, who found themselves intolerably cramped by the advance of the Athenian power in their seas. Accordingly a truce for five years was all that could be effected. Yet this was, at all events, the beginning of a new system of mutual legal obligations in Hellas, the two great powers mutually acknowledging one another and their respective alliances, and arriving at an understanding by means of a treaty. No one who was aware of the hostile feelings agitating the minds of the Hellenes could fail to recognise the want of security in the foundations of this new combination. Cimon was accordingly extremely anxious to engage the attention of his fellow-citizens by undertakings abroad.

Cimon's last campaign, and death.

Ol. lxxxii. 4. (B.C. 449.)

The Egyptian revolt still continued its course. After the downfall of Inarus, Amyrtæus had held his ground in the morasses of the Delta, and now established a new connexion with Athens. For the latter it was a point of honour to avenge the death of her citizens, and the defeat of the fleet which he had subsequently despatched; to recover the loss of Cyprus; to support the national party in Caria and its vicinity; and to prevent the Persian arms from once more attaining to supremacy in the Phœnician sea. Cimon exerted himself to the utmost in the prosecution of the war, and, in the spring of Ol. lxxxii. 3, had the satisfaction of finding himself at the head of a fleet of two hundred vessels, with

Ol. lxxxii. 3. (B.C. 450.)

which he sailed out of the Piræeus against the national foe. At last he felt himself again in his proper place: he was still in the vigour of manhood, and beheld a new path of fame opening before him. He directed his course to Cyprus. The hostile squadrons which sailed out to meet him were beaten back; and Citium was blockaded, in order that a strong fortified position might be obtained on the south coast against Phœnicia and Egypt. But while the fleet lay before Citium, Cimon fell ill, and soon perceived that his end was approaching. He proved his heroic character by employing the last days and hours of his life for the glory of his country. As it is related to us, he commanded that his death should be kept secret, in order that any disturbance might be prevented: by his orders the position before Citium was quitted; and the Phœnico-Cilician fleet was sought out in the offing of the city of Salamis and defeated; as were afterwards the hostile troops on land. Hereupon the ships returned to Athens, and their commander, who had been victorious even in death, was buried there among his ancestors, before the Melitian gate.

Agitation in Phocis and Bœotia.

Cimon's sudden death saved him the grief of having to convince himself of the impossibility of a lasting satisfaction being secured to his country. For although the two leading states remained true to the literal stipulations of the treaties, their allies showed themselves unable to remain quiet. Particularly in the north, the violent and rapid extension of the Attic power had called forth a state of affairs which could not possibly be permanent. In the whole of Bœotia extreme agitation prevailed, the democratic governments experiencing great difficulty in maintaining themselves; in Locris and Eubœa the discontent against the rule of Athens rose to a similar height. On the other hand, the uninterrupted successes of Athens had excited new and high hopes among the Phocians: they were anxious to round off the frontiers of their territory and to incorporate in their

CHAP. II. state whatever was opposed to them within it, or on its boundaries. Thus they now turned against Delphi, whose luxuriant prosperity they had long regarded with eyes of jealous envy. As the ancient Diet, which offered a guarantee of the independence of Delphi, was virtually dissolved, the Phocians considered the ancient treaties as equally at an end. They wished to convert the wealthy Delphi into a Phocian district-town, and were herein sure of the sanction of Athens, because the families ruling at Delphi were hostile to the Athenians. Sparta, called upon to protect the sanctuary, sent an army which restored the independence of Delphi. The Athenians avoided any meeting with the Spartans; but, as soon as the latter had taken their departure, interfered in favour of the Phocians and restored the territorial sovereignty to them. Pericles conducted this expedition; and since the Spartans, in memory of their campaign, had caused the privileges of honour conferred upon them at Delphi to be inscribed upon the left side of the bronze wolf standing by the great altar for burnt-offerings, the Athenians mocked Sparta by having the same inscription placed on their own account on the right side of the same bronze figure.

Meanwhile the confusion in Bœotia increased. For in the towns, where for centuries the noble families had monopolised the government, and where now civic assemblies were suddenly to exercise sway under the guidance of demagogues favourable to Athens, so hopeless a condition of affairs had ensued, that it gradually became utterly intolerable. The members of the expelled families accordingly assembled on the frontiers, where their numbers were swelled by the malcontent citizens, who joined them in constantly increasing swarms; bands of volunteers were formed, which invaded Bœotia and established themselves at Chæronea and Orchomenus. The Athenians lost no time in asserting their power in Bœotia, and immediately despatched an army thither under Tolmides. How-

ever, spoilt by their successes, they failed to look upon the matter as sufficiently serious.*

Battle of Coronea. *Ol.* lxxxiii. 2. (B.C. 447.)

Tolmides had under his command not more than 1,000 heavy-armed citizens in addition to the allies, on whom no certain reliance could be placed. Moreover, the general himself was unaware of the critical nature of the situation, and failed to exercise the necessary caution. Thus it came to pass that, although he succeeded in re-occupying Chæronea, he lacked the means for taking the lofty citadel of Orchomenus, and had to leave unconquered enemies in his rear. When he afterwards marched home to Athens along the southern border of the valley of the Bœotian lake, deeming himself as secure as if he had been in friendly territory, the enemy surprised him between Coronea and Haliartus. After a terrible combat, the Athenians were completely defeated. Tolmides himself fell, with many of his men, and a large number were taken prisoners. The power of Athens in Bœotia had been destroyed by a single blow, because it had nowhere taken root, and had been established by sheer force, in contravention of the whole history of the country. The Athenians were obliged to conclude a peace, in order to free their captive fellow-citizens, and had even to remain quiet spectators, while everywhere the partisans of Athens were expelled with every mark of disgrace and the ancient constitutions were re-established. Athens was unable to entertain any hopes of suppressing this movement; for with terrible rapidity it extended further:—to the neighbouring countries which had been forced to submit to her sway.

Defection of Eubœa.

The example of Bœotia was followed by the cities of Eubœa, and when Pericles had hastened thither with all possible speed to extinguish the revolt of the island, he was recalled by the news that in Megara the Attic

* As to the overthrow of democracy in Bœotia, see Aristot. *Polit.* 1302, b. (p. 197, 25 ed. Bekker, 1855), where however only Thebes is mentioned by name.

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garrison had been surprised and put to death. The Corinthians, in conjunction with their neighbours at Epidaurus and Sicyon, who were particularly jealous of the greatness of Athens, had succeeded in persuading the Megareans to revolt, and in thus once more cutting off the Athenians from the Gulf of Corinth. Nisæa alone remained for the present in the hands of Athens. But the full significance of all these events was completed by the circumstance that, contemporaneously, the Five Years' Truce with Sparta had expired. The Spartans, who had previously already favoured in every possible way the movements which had broken out against Athens, now armed openly, in order to recover the concessions made in the last treaty; and their king, Plistoanax, at the head of a considerable army, without delay invaded Attica, whose frontiers were exposed to attack since the defection of Megara.

Termination of the Five Years' Truce.

Thus Athens was surrounded on all sides by revolt and war. It remained for her to save what could be saved. The result of a battle in Attica could not be risked, nor a siege, because meanwhile Eubœa, with the colonies of Athenian citizens on that island, would have been lost. Only one resource was left; and by rapidly employing this, Pericles saved his native city. He contrived, during a cleverly conducted negotiation, to work upon the inexperience of Plistoanax, as well as upon the avarice of Cleandridas, whom the Ephors had attached as adviser to the person of the young king, and obtained that the Peloponnesian army, which had never invaded the soil of Attica under more promising circumstances, took its departure before the occurrence of any serious hostilities, and was dismissed after crossing the Isthmus.

Athens saved by Pericles.

Ol. lxxxiii. 3. (B.C. 445.)

As soon as the main danger was removed, Pericles hastened back to Eubœa with fifty ships and 5,000 hoplites; for on the maintenance of her dominion over this island the prosperity and power of Athens unconditionally depended. Here he again achieved the

most rapid results, partly by negotiation and partly by force. The island was even occupied more completely than before, and bound more closely to Attica; the city of Histiæa, which had seized upon an Attic ship, being taken by storm and its territory distributed among Attic citizens. Two thousand Athenians settled with other Eubœans in the desolated city, which now received the name of Oreus; and thus Athens gained a strong and important point of support for her power in the north, as well as on the other sides of the island, in the vicinity of the Artemisium, at the entrance to the Malian and Pagasæan gulf, as well as to the Euripus. Chalcis continued to exist as an allied city after the noble families had been expelled.*

The Thirty Years' Peace concluded. *Ol.* lxxxiii. 3. (B.C. 445.)

Thus the resolute energy of Pericles had again overcome this the second crisis of war, and had saved what was indispensable to Athens. The danger, however, was not yet at an end. For in Sparta the conduct of Plistoanax and Cleandridas had provoked the bitterest censure; and a desire was felt to recover the opportunity so disgracefully neglected, and to prevent Athens from rising out of her abasement. In Athens, on the other hand, among all moderate politicians, the conviction prevailed that measures ought above all to be taken once more firmly to establish the city on her main foundations; in other words, she in the first instance needed repose, even if this had to be purchased by heavy sacrifices.

Pericles was the most strenuous advocate of this view, and left no means untried of disposing the influential citizens of Sparta as well as his own city in favour of peace. His efforts were successful in obtaining a new truce, which ten envoys with full powers, among them Andocides and Callias, concluded at Sparta. As in the last truce (p. 402), the *status quo* of the possessions of either side was mutually recognised. But how vast was the difference between the present territory of

* As to Oreus and Histiæa see Baumeister, *Skizze der Insel Euboia.* Lübeck, 1855, p. 58.

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Athens and of her alliance, and that which Cimon had induced Sparta to recognise! Of Bœotia, Platææ alone remained; all the acquisitions in Peloponnesus were given up, particularly Trœzene, where the Athenians had kept a garrison in order to facilitate their connexion with Argos and hold Epidaurus in check; furthermore, the towns of Achæa had again to be dismissed from the alliance, and besides these Megara, a loss which the Athenians must have felt most keenly of all; both Nisæa and Pegæ were evacuated. The maritime cities of Peloponnesus—Corinth, Epidaurus, and Sicyon—were accordingly the first and chief gainers by this treaty. A cessation of arms was sworn to on either side for a period of thirty years; during which all disputes which might arise were to be settled by legal means; though neither on this occasion again was anything fixed as to the nature and form of the legal procedure which was to be instituted. The two alliances once more recognised one another as two groups of states; each was a perfectly defined body and an empire by itself. Neither was to be enlarged at the expense of the other; within the limits of its own alliance the leading state possessed the undisputed power of punishing every revolt. By this means, Athens saw her power as a federal capital in the Archipelago fully recognised; and Sparta undertook to entertain no complaints from members of the Attic alliance.*

Athenian negotiations with Persia.

Negotiations were also carried on about the same time with Persia; and treaties putting an end to the war are said to have been concluded immediately after the death of Cimon. Considering the existing state of affairs, it is easy to understand that both sides were inclined to peace. Persia had not the least chance of ever recovering her sovereignty over the Ægean;

* The reading Ἀχαΐα in Thuc. i. 115 and iv. 21, should not be changed into Ἀλιάδα, as Krüger, or Ἀλιᾶς, as Cobet proposes. ἀποδόντες is opposed to παραλαβόντες, c. 111; the one signifies the conclusion, the other the dissolution of a treaty of federation. Cf. Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, i. 422.

every new battle only helped to weaken her authority and further to discourage her troops; the more Persia had lost, the more necessary it was for her to endeavour at last to fix a limit to the advance of the Attic alliance, in order that she might at all events remain mistress of the sea of Cyprus and put an end to the connexion between the Athenians and the rebellious Egyptians. On the other hand, it was also in the interest of the Athenians to attain to a peaceable understanding on the basis of their acquisitions. They could not wish to continue an endless war and to enter upon a constant succession of new enterprises. Their experiences in Egypt (p. 399) warned them to pause; nor had they been by any means as successful as they had hoped in Cyprus. Therefore it was the duty of a wise statesmanship to give up what was more distant, in order to be doubly sure of what was nearer home. In the long run it would pass the power of the state to maintain an unceasing defence of the long lines of coasts against the Persians, in whose favour a long continuance of the war must operate, since they could at any suitable time advance from the interior towards the coast, so as to force the towns in alliance with Athens to pay the sums of tribute due from them. Above all it was desirable in the interest of trade to put an end to the state of war in the Archipelago, so that the ships of Athens and her allies might be allowed free access to all the ports of the Persian empire.

But however desirable peace might be for both sides, no peace could be concluded as long as Cimon lived. His life was too closely interwoven with the Persian war; in it he saw the task of his life, and Pericles had doubtless promised by his influence to prevent any difficulties being thrown in the way of Cimon in fulfilling this task. The death of the hero freed Pericles from this obligation; he was now able, without let or hindrance, to pursue his own policy, which was thoroughly opposed to an aimless continuance of the war; and it is accordingly probable

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that the commanders of the fleet soon received the necessary orders, and that an understanding was effected between the parties in the war. For we hear of no further combats after the death of Cimon: Amyrtæus in Egypt receives no further support; and Cyprus is given up.

Embassy of Callias. (B.C. 445 *circ.*)

Hereupon a solemn embassy was sent from Athens to Susa, in order to conclude a lasting peace with the Great King. The head of the embassy was the wealthy Callias, the son of Hipponicus, and the grandson of the Callias who had been the most courageous opponent of the Pisistratidæ. At the royal court, as Herodotus relates, he met an embassy of the Argives, who were anxious to renew their ancient connexion with Persia. The journey of Callias, as we find from the only date preserved to us, belongs to the time in which Plistoanax invaded Attica; nor could the desire for peace ever have been greater than then. But, even independently of this consideration, it is extremely probable that immediately after the death of Cimon a preliminary understanding was effected with the Persian satraps with whom the Athenians were in feud, and that then, after a cessation of arms had taken place, Callias was commissioned to conclude a definitive treaty of peace with the Great King himself.

The embassy failed to lead to the desired result; for, while the Great King showed himself ready graciously to assure the Argives of the same friendly sentiments on his part as those which his father Xerxes had entertained towards them, he was found by no means willing to grant the Athenians such concessions as they had expected, or to acknowledge the *status quo* of the present dominion of either side as a basis of peace and as legally established. That Callias was not fortunate in his negotiation may be gathered from the circumstance that Herodotus only mentions his embassy in a brief reference; and it is still more clearly manifest from the events which occurred

after his return. He was subjected to a capital indictment at Athens; he was accused of having taken presents of money, and Pericles was unable to save him from a trial for high treason. His accusers were doubtless the opponents of the policy of Pericles, for there still existed a powerful party which abhorred the idea of any embassy to Susa, and wished to see the interrupted course of the war unwearyingly continued. Nor is it impossible that at this crisis, when the very existence of the state was at stake, more had been done than could be reconciled with the honour of Athens; and the former treaty in the time of Clisthenes (vol. i. p. 392) may be remembered in connexion with this event. Thus much is certain, that Callias, a man of already advanced age, only with difficulty escaped death, and was sentenced to a fine of fifty talents.

Unfortunately we are deprived of the knowledge of all the details concerning this remarkable embassy. The contemporary historians offer no information, while in the subsequent generations such a mass of unintelligible and contradictory traditions accumulated round this treaty that it is impossible to discover the true state of the case. When, about sixty years afterwards, the Spartans concluded their treaties with Persia, by which they gave up Ionia to the king, the treaties with Athens were again brought forward, and the Attic orators vied with one another in representing them as the climax of the splendour of the Cimonian period,—as the most glorious triumph of Attic statesmanship over Persia. They persuaded themselves and others that the Great King had solemnly promised to send no armed vessels into the Ægean; and it was asserted that, in the north, the Cyanean islands at the entrance of the Black Sea had been fixed as the boundary of the Hellenic maritime dominion, and in the southern sea, the "Chelidonean" or Swallow-islands, which, together with the promontory of the Solymi-range—(the Cape Chelidoni of the present day)

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—form the natural frontier between the Rhodo-Lycian and the Pamphylian seas. In Asia Minor itself the Great King was said to have undertaken never to allow any of his troops to approach the coast within the distance of an ordinary day's cavalry march. According to other accounts, he was even said to have acknowledged the line of the Halys as the boundary of his empire. These treaties were assigned by some to the time after the battle on the Eurymedon, by others to that after the victory of Cyprus.

The so-called Peace of Cimon.

In contradiction of these confused statements, it is perfectly clear that the so-called Peace of Cimon has nothing whatever to do with Cimon, inasmuch as the negotiations for peace contravene the fundamental principles of his statesmanship. Furthermore, it is certain that, although possibly certain individual satraps of the king may, under the pressure of war, have found themselves ready to agree to humiliating conditions of peace, the Great King himself never consented to recognise the independence of the coast-lands which had seceded from his empire, nor to resign his claim to the tributes with which their names were entered in the state-budget of the Persian empire. No formal treaty of state between Athens and Persia, such as Pericles doubtless desired, was ever concluded. But virtually a condition of affairs ensued after the death of Cimon in which, on the one hand, Athens relinquished offensive operations, and, on the other, the Persians kept their distance from the dominion of the Attic alliance. Peace reigned in the Ægean; the territorial relations of the two powers, as they had been settled by the victories of Cimon, were tacitly recognised, and a free communication by ships between Europe and Asia constituted the principal advantage which accrued to the Athenians from the pacification of the sea.

Thus order had been introduced into the foreign relations of Athens through the influence of Pericles.

* See Note XXVI. Appendix.

The Persian war was for the present at an end, and definite treaties had been concluded with Sparta. Of course Pericles knew better than any of his fellow-citizens that a lasting peace with Sparta was impossible; but he needed several years of peace in order to carry out his plans at Athens. For this purpose he had obtained freedom of action abroad, by means of the cessation of arms which now prevailed; and it was necessary to attain to the same result at home. CHAP. II.

Thucydides, the son of Melesias.

Here the party of Cimon had not died out. It survived in the numerous friends of the departed hero; but it had fallen to pieces and begun to dissolve and lose itself among the multitude. It was now once more gathered together, and by union made a power in the state, by Thucydides, the son of Melesias, who belonged to the suburban district of Alopece. He was a relative of Cimon: but it was from internal conviction, not from personal considerations, that he assumed the position of a party-leader; for it was his belief that a counterbalance was needed against the measureless advance of the democracy. Accordingly, he placed himself at the head of the members of the ancient families, the adherents of ancient usage, who, like Cimon, highly esteemed the civic discipline of Lycurgus and were anxious to prevent a rupture with the Peloponnesus. Thucydides contrived admirably to organise the party. He was a man of high reputation throughout Hellas, of acknowledged unselfishness, and loyally intent upon the good of the community, superior to Cimon in the gift of speech, and devoid of fear when it was necessary to oppose Pericles in the popular assembly. He openly deplored that Athens had lost her fair name; the state which always had the word Liberty on her lips was hated like a Tyrant wherever her dominion prevailed. An illegal appropriation of the property of others had, he declared, been committed, by the transfer of the confederate treasury to Athens; and the contributions paid in for conducting the war against

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the Persians were employed to deck out the city like a vain woman, while at Susa citizens paid court to the Great King.

Ostracism of Thucydides. *Ol.* lxxxiv. 1. (B.C. 444.)

With Cimon, Pericles had been able to coalesce for a common course of action; with Thucydides such a coalition was impossible. The latter was himself too much of a demagogue; he risked everything in order to obtain the victory for his principles, and was unable to submit or accommodate himself to another. Like a pair of athletes, the two men contested every more important transaction in the popular assembly with one another. The citizens had two leaders, the ship of the state two helmsmen; one of whom was always working against the other. Thus the most vigorous forces in the state were again expending themselves in party-struggles, until at last the aristocratic party, finding its opposition against the mighty influence of Pericles fruitless, resolved to represent him as a man dangerous to public liberty, and proposed the application of ostracism. But the weapon wounded the hand of those who endeavoured to strike with it. For when the citizens were summoned to pronounce their decision, and by this means at the same time to make their choice between the two party-leaders, not Pericles, but Thucydides, was sent into exile. Some of his political friends quitted the city at the same time, among them, *e.g.*, the poet Ion of Chios, the intimate friend of Cimon. The others, deprived of all guidance, lost themselves among the citizens; and their party was at an end. The civic body had, in a clear and decisive manner, expressed their confidence in Pericles, who now possessed freedom of action both abroad and at home. The time had arrived for him to realise his plans without obstruction.

CHAPTER III.

THE YEARS OF PEACE.

THE life of Pericles coincides with a turning-point of Hellenic culture; nor is it possible to understand the extraordinary nature of the position which he occupied at Athens without at the same time taking into consideration the movement of mind which in his times extended itself across from Ionia to Attica, and here gradually produced a complete transformation of earlier manners and habits of thought.

Attic culture since Solon.

Attic culture had received its most characteristic impress since the time of Solon. A constitution founded in a spirit of sublime wisdom, and having in view the participation of the whole civic community in public life, necessarily and of itself became, in the fullest sense of the word, a public discipline. Moreover, it had made the obligation of parents and guardians to provide for the education of youth a civil duty, the neglect of which was animadverted upon by the Areopagus and resulted in a public stigma. However, the sphere of the means of culture had not been essentially enlarged; the ancient usage had continued to be observed, according to which it was not intended that the young should collect a multiplicity of knowledge by study, but that their inborn powers should be aroused and exercised; that from early morning they should accustom themselves to exert body and soul for worthy purposes according to a regular discipline. Grammar, music, and gymnastics exhausted the

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circle of teaching, the first two of these departments being closely connected with one another. For when the boy had learnt to read and write, he read the poets; he learnt to declaim them, and with the words appropriated to himself the wealth of their subject-matter. Reason and feeling, taste and judgment, were developed by his habituating himself more and more to the ideas of poets of high and universal reputation. The declamation of poems led to the accompaniment on stringed instruments, and to an accurate acquaintance with the different rhythms. The power of the music art proved its elevating and refining influence upon the minds of the young, without the intentional character of moral instruction disclosing itself to them.

Though this mental culture was but plain and simple, yet it took hold of the entire man; and this all the more deeply and energetically, inasmuch as the youthful mind was not distracted by a multiplicitous variety, and could therefore devote a proportionately closer devotion to the mental food, and to the materials of culture, offered to it. And what a wealth of such materials might be offered to an Attic boy! The great world-picture of the Homeric epos, which aroused heroic impulses and the desire of glorious deeds, the hymns of religious worship, with their abundant treasure of sacred temple-myths, the practical wisdom of the Gnomics, who in short proverbial sentences contrived to express the ripe knowledge of the foremost men of the nation; and then the whole wealth of lyric poetry, the earnest solemnity of an Alcman, the bold ideas of an Archilochus, the fiery passion and the charming grace of the Æolians; and finally, elegiac poetry in its abundant variety, the Ionic as well as the Attic branch, which with convincing clearness expressed all that it behoved a brave and efficient citizen of Athens to know and to be capable of doing. Thus, when the boy grew up to be a man, he might have passed through all the steps of the development which Hellenic culture had under-

gone, he might have mastered all the fashions and forms of national art, as it had been practised among the different tribes and in the different parts of the country, and have acquired a property in the whole spiritual inheritance of his nation. While the mental training of the young was rather left to the parents, the public gymnasia provided for their physical efficiency, because from the point of view of the common weal no object of education seemed of greater importance than that of securing to the state a healthy rising generation of vigorous and comely, brave and agile youths.

The principle lying at the root of all juvenile education was the attainment of a free and universal culture. None of the exercises in traditional use was designed as a preparation for particular operations and employments of civil life. When the youth had possessed himself of that which all consented to regard as the best of the spiritual treasures of the people, and had successfully attained to his maturity, participation in public life was regarded as the higher school and test of developement. The lessons of the Palæstra were proved by military service in the ranks of the civic army, and the powers of judgment and intelligent speech tested in the civic assemblies: the songs which had been learnt in the schools continued to be sung at the social meetings. For at the banquet the lyre passed from hand to hand, preserving the memory of the sayings of wise poets and exciting to new composition. Instructive conversations were held in the shady walks of the Palæstra, and friendship (the moral significance of which no nation has more deeply felt than the Greeks) stimulated the minds of men to a lofty emulation in virtue and knowledge.

To this must be added the civic festivals, which confirmed and encouraged the common culture on the given basis. Here was heard the declamation of the Homeric rhapsodies, of the Hymns and of the Dithyrambs, in the form in which Lasus of Hermione had

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introduced them into Athens (vol. i. p. 371); here, above all, the Dionysian games since the time of Pisistratus formed the centre of attraction in the festive life of Athens. Every new progress in the art of poetry was at the same time a widening of popular culture; for the poets were the real teachers of the people, whose understanding they exercised and whose judgment they quickened, while they refined and deepened its moral consciousness: they turned the minds of men from the fables of mythology to the religious germ of tradition, to Zeus the ruler of the world, the guardian of the eternal laws of morality (as was particularly done by Archilochus, Terpander, and Solon); they knew how to establish a connexion between all the events of the present, good and evil fortune, great deeds and virtues as well as faults and sins of individuals and whole civic communities,—between all these on the one hand, and on the other the deeds and sufferings of the ancestral Heroes of the race, with whom the living generation felt itself in an unbroken communion. By this means their view was expanded beyond the narrow horizon of the immediate present; they were taught to see in the changes of history not accidental and arbitrary occurrences, but a divine order and a moral law. Finally, the Mysteries provided for the deeper wants of those who could not rest wholly satisfied with the public worship of the gods, and the wisdom of Orpheus, who was venerated as the founder of the sacred rites, cast the mild halo of a hope reaching beyond the earth over the life of the Athenian.

It would indeed be a natural conclusion, that the mobility and love of change innate in the Attic people offered only a slight pledge for the preservation of ancient usage; but the attachment which the families of worthy citizens felt towards everything handed down to them by their fathers, and the quiet power of tradition, supported by religion and by various remnants of primitive institutions, were strong enough to hold fast the people on the given foundations. Even in the

Wars of Liberation the pious faith of the Greeks still recognised the co-operation of the gods and Heroes as their allies. The warriors engaged in the battle of Marathon fancied that they beheld Theseus rising from the lower regions and the Heroes Marathon and Echetlus fighting in their ranks: at Salamis the Eleusinian divinities and the Æacidæ gave their assistance. In proportion as the spiritual life of the Athenians was characterised by freedom, it was able with ease to admit the new impulses offered by their glorious history, without on that account allowing its inner harmony to be disturbed; and thus the old Attic culture, which had proved its worth during the troubles of the Persian wars, the ancient morality and piety, had retained their dominion as late as the days of Pericles, even without the binding force of laws such as held sway at Sparta.

The beginnings of Ionic culture.

Meanwhile far away from Attica a spiritual movement had commenced, which, originating in imperceptible beginnings, had gradually become a power, the existence of which was only known to the chosen among the people, till step by step it affected the whole national life. The home of this movement was Ionia.

Ionic philosophy of nature.

While the states of Hellas on the hither coast continued to lead an existence apart from the wider intercourse of the world at large, and while their citizens lived only in the limited sphere of the affairs of their own communities, the Ionians were the first to take thought of things more remote. By nature of a restless disposition, and one prone to glance into the distance, they were by their contact with the Babylonian and Egyptian civilisation moved to pass beyond the sphere of their immediate civil duties, and by travels, questions, and inquiry to seek to acquire a new knowledge of things wholly unconnected with political life, and to investigate the causes of phenomena. For such

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a nation as the Greek, which felt itself united in unaffected harmony with nature around them, it was a step of incalculably important consequences, when for the first time human consciousness confronted the world of creation. Of course, at first it was merely intended to acquire an intelligent understanding of nature, and to satisfy the craving of the Hellenic mind, which everywhere sought to establish law and order; it was endeavoured in the face of the confusing multiplicity of created things to fix upon a universal element, *i.e.* to demonstrate one of the many forms of matter as the Original Matter: as such Thales of Miletus (p. 111) chose Water. Though he had himself no thought of contravening by such a doctrine the popular consciousness and its view of nature, yet he hereby gave the deciding impulse towards such a contravention.

Thales.

Enquiring thought went a step further; for it was not difficult to demonstrate the insufficiency of the Original Matter set up by Thales. Accordingly in the same city to which Thales belonged appeared Anaximander, who taught that the Original Matter in question was no visible element, inasmuch as every boundary of space limited real life and being. The origin of things must hence be something unlimited and infinite which has existed from the beginning, an Original Matter homogeneous in itself and eternal, which moves by a force of its own. From it issue separately forth the single elements, which by means of this separation attain to individual natural existence, but are all destined at some future time to return to their source and lose themselves in it. This loss of existence is, as it were, the penalty paid for the separate life which the single elements have improperly assumed for themselves.

Anaximander.

It is evident, how much bolder a progress was effected by this idea of Anaximander, how much more resolutely he freed himself from the influence of visible phenomena. To corporeal things real life is already

denied. But the Original Matter of Anaximander was an idea admitting of no sufficiently clear conception, and affording an insufficient explanation of actual phenomena. The Milesian Anaximenes accordingly, while retaining the doctrine of the infinity of Original Matter, again conceived of the latter rather as of an element capable of demonstration, viz. of the finest and most changeable of all—Air. He taught that things arise by condensation and rarefaction out of an aërial æther. Thus he again brought philosophy into closer proximity with the domain of physical science; and he was followed by a succession of enquirers, who endeavoured to apply the principles of the Ionic natural philosophers to the explanation of the system of the universe, and to explain the multiplicity of phenomena from physical processes. The attraction towards enquiry spread from Miletus over the other cities of Ionia, and thence, in consequence of the political agitation, far away into remote parts of the Greek world. For when the Persians advanced upon the coast and threatened to annihilate the entire civilisation of Ionia, this event gave rise to emigration and to the settlement of Ionic philosophy in Italy, where it struck root anew. Thus Elea (Hyele) was founded on the Tyrrhenian Sea by the fugitive Phocæans, and became a seat of philosophy, after Xenophanes of Colophon had settled here, at the same time when Pythagoras left Samos for Croton (p. 147). Both these men, though in many respects differing from one another, yet agreed in this particular, that they entered upon new courses in order to solve the problems proposed by the philosophers of Miletus.

Anaximenes.

The Eleatic school and the Pythagoreans.

The final cause of things cannot be found in Matter; for it is utterly impossible to explain the order of the universe and its changing phenomena by assuming an Original Matter. Every assumption of the kind only reads from one enigma to another. Something higher must lie at the foundation of all things—something incomprehensible by the senses. This higher principle the Pythagoreans found in Number; for, while recog-

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nising Number as the regulating principle in small things as in great, wherever a regular movement and order is perceptible, in the sounds of the lyre as well as in the courses of the heavenly bodies, and while regarding Number as the key for an intelligent understanding of them, they viewed it not only as the regulative norm according to which all things fell into a systematic order, but also as the real essence of their being. The Eleatic philosophers also sought the origin of things not within, but without, the invisible world. With resolute strength of mind, they opposed to the changing phenomena in the midst of which we live an immutable and eternal life and being. This alone is real; all multiplicity is a mere semblance without any inner being; and the only object of knowledge can be that which is one and the same in itself, the final cause of the deceptive world of phenomena. This was the starting-point of the philosophy which the men of Phocæa cultivated in the remote city of Elea in Italy. The same boldness of mind which had first led them out into the waters of the Western Sea, where there were no islands to shelter them, they proved as thinkers, by courageously casting off the influence of all perception by the senses, and sailing out into the domain of the immaterial Idea.

But though a mighty progress is marked by the two new schools of philosophy, which with the soil of Ionia also relinquished the views of the Ionians, who were still occupied with the perceptions of the senses, yet neither school had adopted a course leading to the discovery of a satisfactory method for the explanation of existing phenomena. New principles of a philosophic view of the world had been set up, but the means were wanting for their direct application; and the world of phenomena could be explained neither by the Number of the Pythagorean nor by the absolute Life and *Being* of the Eleatic school. Accordingly Ionic philosophy put forth a new tendency in direct opposition to either.

Heraclitus of Ephesus.

The following was the new doctrine. There exists altogether no state of being, neither one demonstrable in the world of the senses—for this can in no case be proved to be one on which absolute reliance can be placed—nor one suprasensual, eternal, and one and the same in itself, such as the speculation of the Eleatic school invented for itself; that which alone really *is*, and to which every enquiry into the nature of things leads us, is change, eternal motion, unceasing generation (*Werden*). The whole world is nothing but a complication of opposites, which mutually limit and eliminate one another—an unceasing change of matter, a mutual interchange of things, a universal flux. The more that any one thing participates in this process of generation, the more *being* belongs to it; every desire of remaining unchanged is an arbitrary revolt against the order of the world, and is punished by Δίκη, *i.e.* Justice. Such was the teaching of the Ephesian Heraclitus in the times of King Darius; and his doctrine of the eternal conflict in nature and in the world of humanity, and of War the "father of things," seems as if it were merely the expression found by philosophy for those times of wild agitation, in which a revolution of all political relations took place, and national wars of incalculable importance opened up a new era. It was a momentous advance in the developement of the consciousness of philosophy, when the final question with which the latter was concerned was by Heraclitus removed into a new sphere, and when an overflowingly wealthy and fertile subject of contemplation was offered to the human mind in the process of generation and decay. His extraordinary conceptions, the struggle of his ideas to solve the enigma of generation, found no expression in the ordinary language of the Hellenes; and in the ears of the Ephesians the wisdom of their great fellow-citizen sounded like the incomprehensible utterances of the oracles.

In no direction could the teaching of Heraclitus

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satisfy enquiring minds. Thought continued its unwearying course. The Eleatic school continued, in direct opposition to Heraclitus, to develope with greater precision the idea of an absolute state of being, and to demonstrate it as offering the single resting-point for the enquiring mind, and as constituting the sole original cause of the world. At Agrigentum, on the other hand, Empedocles endeavoured to reconcile this opposition between the two doctrines. He assumed an eternal state of being without denying the process of generation. He taught that what appears to us as generation and decay is merely a meeting and separation of original factors or elements, which are mixed and again sundered by means of two forces, viz. by love and hatred. Contemporaneously Leucippus made an attempt of a totally different character to reconcile the conflicting doctrines of a state of being and a state of generation. He attributed a real existence and agency, not only to that which *is*, but also to that which *is not*, i. e. to the *vacuum*: that which *is* he declared to be immortal indeed, but, so far from containing no differences in itself, to be composed of an infinite number of small parts. The latter attain to motion in the *vacuum* of space; and their combination and separation explain the phenomena of change in nature. Hence he believed it in his power to save both the Eleatic doctrine of *Being*, as demanded by the speculative idea, and the Heraclitic doctrine of generation, as being taught by experience.

Empedocles. (450 B.C. *circ.*)

Leucippus.

Before this doctrine of *atoms* had been perfectly developed, Anaxagoras in Clazomenæ (born Ol. lxx. 1, B.C. 500 *circ.*) perceived the unsatisfactory nature of every such attempt at reconciling these conflicting doctrines, and at the same time also the impossibility of solving the eternal conflict between the state of being and that of generation, by a reference to the forms of matter and their nature; for the Eleatic school had been as unable to separate their *Being* from the nature of matter as the Pythagoreans had

Anaxagoras of Clazomenæ.

in the case of their *Number*. Anaxagoras taught that the original cause neither of the state of being nor of that of generation lies in the visible world; but that the impulse to their formation must be given from without, from a being which is not material, but has a life in itself. With this doctrine a new light arose in the world of thought, the idea of a Mind ruling the world, which was placed in clear and distinct opposition to everything corporeal.*

Effects of philosophy.

From apparently insignificant and harmless beginnings, human thought had irresistibly passed through its course. One thinker had driven out the teaching of the other; a single principle alone remained as to which all were agreed, viz. the rejection of perception by the senses, and of every judgment founded thereon. Heraclitus called the senses "lying witnesses," and for the Eleatic school the whole world evaporated into a mere empty semblance. Before any definite system was attained to, what actually existed crumbled into ruins. A direct opposition grew up against the thoughtless life of the multitude, as well as against all traditionary and popular conceptions—an opposition against the poets, the legislators, and against the gods of the people. Homer and Hesiod no longer enjoyed respect, and no authority was able to prevail against the analytic force of doubt. Simple faith and an honest veneration of what had been handed down from the ancestors of the nation, all harmony between man and created nature, was at an end.

It is true that the leaders of the schools everywhere endeavoured to advance to fixed goals, and never grew weary in the struggle for a final consummation. But in proportion as their views on this point differed, there was great risk that many who took part in

* Already in Heraclitus the idea of an Intelligence ruling the universe finds a clear expression (Bernays, *Rhein. Museum f. Phil.* N. F. ix. page 254), while on the other hand, even by Anaxagoras, notwithstanding the advance made in distinguishing between the spiritual and the material, no perfectly independent personality is as yet ascribed to the supreme spiritual Being.

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philosophic enquiry would, on account of the weakness or indolence of their minds, never arrive at any stage beyond that of doubt. They loftily derided the simplicity of those who rested content with popular notions, the contradictions in which it was no longer a task of any difficulty to discover, but were not themselves seriously engaged in a search after the ultimate truth. Why should they have sought after this? If, as Heraclitus has shown, there nowhere exists a lasting and definite state of being, every one may regard as the truth what his senses represent to him as such, and as to which it is impossible to enter into a dispute with any one else. Thus it came to pass that a class of men grew up who were altogether unconcerned with systems and final causes, but who regarded as the really important point the mental exercise of thought, and the versatility and independence of mind which are its results.

Hippodamus of Miletus.

Thus philosophy ends in a universal habit of free-thinking, which is to be employed after a practical and easily comprehensible fashion to subject all things in existence to enquiry. The state and civil society are considered in the light of this free-thinking habit of mind; theories are set up; questions as to dwelling, food, and clothing are discussed on general grounds of reason, and men who have never occupied a public office start vast plans of reform affecting the entire system of the community. This tendency manifests itself most clearly in Hippodamus, who was born at Miletus about the time when Athens assumed the hegemony of the Hellenic naval power, and who in his native city so zealously mastered everything accessible in science, that he could at an early age boast a comprehensive knowledge of nature and of the world, and endeavoured in every way to assert himself as a man who understood everything better than all the rest of the Hellenes. He was originally an architect, and in the first instance desired to reform everything according to new principles in his own department.

The structure of houses and towns was not to depend on fancy and arbitrary choice, nor on the accidents of the soil, but to be dealt with on general principles. That it was at Miletus where the idea first arose of treating scientifically the foundation of towns may find a satisfactory explanation in the history of the city (vol. i. p. 417 f.); and the examples of Oriental cities with which the Milesians came into contact, particularly of Babylon, doubtless influenced Hippodamus, when he demanded for a city a mathematical regularity in the original plan, rectilinear streets and open places, and the marking off of its different quarters in rectangular sections. But he went much further than this in the ardour of his dogmatism. He desired to introduce a new habit of dress; he wished to have the civic communities regulated, the classes of the population divided off, and the laws and public business settled acccording to fixed numerical proportions; everything was to be constructed in compliance with the demands of reason, and thus attain to universal acceptance. Thus political theories were formed which differed fundamentally from the political wisdom of the older generation, who, as, *e.g.*, Mnesiphilus (vol. i. p. 354), the heir of the wisdom of Solon, while closely adhering to the particular task of each individual state and to its history, asserted political principles in the form of brief sentences.*

Relations between philosophy and the state.

This modern rationalism, clearly exemplified in the case of Hippodamus, became a power which extended further and further, and affected national life in the innermost being. Of course it advanced most rapidly wherever the relations of society had already been relaxed, *i.e.* particularly in the great trading cities, and in the first instance in Ionia itself, where an opposition against strict rules binding the whole body of the community, and a tendency towards innovation,

* The sophistic character of Hippodamus is brought out by K. Fr. Hermann, *De Hipp. Milesio*, Marb. 1841, p. 18.

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had always prevailed. Under the rule of the Lydians and Persians the population had become very mixed; Hellenes and Barbarians lived among one another; and thus the feeling of nationality had suffered sufficiently to leave no obstacle in the way of cosmopolitanism, which spread together with philosophic rationalism. With the Ionian cities the colonies of Italy and Sicily were connected by immediate commercial intercourse; and here again a similar condition of society had prepared the ground for the new movement in the public mind.

At the same time Greek philosophy was not without germs which operated productively for the spread of political as well as other science. Heraclitus, with lofty enthusiasm, preached the rule of the laws of the state; Pythagoras endeavoured to realise in the human polity also the harmony which he contemplated in the system of the universe; even the Eleatic school were not so lost in speculation as not to serve their fellow-citizens as statesmen of active energy when the call of necessity arose. Parmenides, the follower of Xenophanes (p. 421), became the legislator of Elea, and on this head inclined to the Pythagorean principles: Empedocles was the most influential personage at Agrigentum, and the saviour of the constitution of that city. But effects of this kind were merely exceptional and transitory; the constitutions which had been regulated according to philosophic principles failed to endure; and only the most eminent individuals were able to combine with the new culture the efficiency and loyalty of a good citizen. The general and permanent effect was of a nature to shake all devotion to ancestral usage; to undermine the fixedness of political and social laws; and, since upon the latter were based faith and morality, at the same time to endanger the moral bearing of the Greek communities.

Parmenides.

Empedocles.

The philosophers at Athens.

Lying in the midst between Ionia and the colonies of the West, European Greece, whose attention was

entirely occupied with its political affairs, for a long time remained wholly untouched by the influence of philosophic rationalism. But sooner or later it was necessary that the contact should take place, particularly at Athens, after the latter had aroused the attention of the entire Greek world, and had thus quitted her former restricted and retired position. The exertion of all the forces of body and mind to which Athens owed her victories had been so intense, that, after the danger had been averted, her citizens could not again return into the ancient track of ancestral usage. An entirely new self-consciousness had been awakened, and new objects were needed to exercise the forces of the people, new acquisitions, this time on the field of mental culture.

This craving for an extension of the mental horizon was met in a remarkable manner by the circumstances of the times. A multitude of new impulses awaited the Athenians. From travellers and by epistolary intercourse they learnt the tidings of the new wisdom which had matured in the distant cities by the sea, until at last the most eminent personages themselves came across—Anaxagoras first and foremost, who, immediately after the great victories over the Persians, took up his abode at Athens, and was the first to constitute Athens the home of philosophy. Next to him, his contemporary Diogenes of Apollonia on Crete, who adhered to and carried on the school of the Ionic natural philosophers, even after later enquirers had rendered their stand-point obsolete. Upon the Eleatic philosophers, too, Athens exercised its attraction. Parmenides arrived as a sexagenarian at the Pan-Athenæan festival (Ol. lxxxi. 3; B.C. 454 *circ.*), and brought with him his disciple Zeno, who, notwithstanding his attachment to the tranquillity of Elea, so favourable to philosophical studies, paid repeated visits to Athens.*

Anaxagoras;

Diogenes of Apollonia;

Parmenides;

Zeno.

* See Arist. *Polit.* 1341 (p. 141, 4; σχολαστικώτεροι γὰρ γενόμενοι—καὶ μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ φρονηματισθέντες—πάσης ἥπτοντο μαθήσεως). Accord-

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The Sophists at Athens.

These philosophers proper, the founders and representatives of schools of philosophy, were afterwards followed, in larger numbers, by those who refused to concern themselves with the teaching of the schools and with particular systems, but rather made use of the doctrines of the philosophers in order to demonstrate the impossibility of a knowledge of equal validity for all; men who knew how to turn the command of thought and speech which they had obtained from the multiplicity of their studies to a profitable account by teaching. For while the stricter philosophers were only able to attract into their circle a chosen few among the people, the others addressed a wider public and forced philosophy into the service of general culture. As teachers of a kind such as Greece had never before seen, they passed from one of the more important cities to the other; attracted the young men, not in order to trouble them with useless propositions, but in order to acquaint them with the progress of the civilisation of the times, to free them from prejudices, to give light and breadth to their mental horizon, to make them ready thinkers and speakers, to teach them how to form an opinion in public affairs, how to administrate their own property, how to deal with mankind in general: and as for this purpose they as it were made a profession of their wisdom and formed a separate class, they were called Sophists, a name which originally was wholly free from any secondary signification implying blame. One of the first of these sophists was Protagoras of Abdera, who about the middle of the fifth century appeared with great applause both in Sicily and at Athens. He taught that there exists no absolute truth; that all objects are only such as they appear to him who perceives them; that everything depends on the point of view of the

Protagoras.

ing to the most probable assumption Anaxagoras came to Athens under the archonship of Callias (Ol. lxxv. 1; B.C. 480), when twenty years of age (Brandis, *Gesch. der Gr. und Röm. Phil.* 233). As to Parmenides and Zeno, see Brandis, page 375.

spectator, in whom lies the measure of things. Thus men freely and independently confronted God and the world, and to every individual the only question of moment was as to how far he was capable of asserting his personal opinion.

It is curious to observe the conduct of the Athenians towards these men who introduced their wisdom from their homes in the West and East, and who, not without reason, expected to find at Athens a favourable soil on which to plant it. For what could be more welcome to the Athenians at this period, when they felt themselves no longer satisfied by the sphere of their present culture, than a wisdom which regarded both human and divine matters from new points of view, and at the same time desired to be directly practical and available for all conditions of life; a wisdom which perfectly corresponded to the Ionic love of free and independent movement, by conceding supreme rights to personal individuality as against all burdensome laws and ordinances, by favouring the love of speech, and, through the influence which it promised to give to its disciples, in the highest degree flattering the ambition of the Athenian youth? The spirit of the times found in this wisdom its perfect expression; whence it also came to pass that the same tendency asserted itself in the most various localities unconnected by any external link, and everywhere met with assent and welcome. In Athens it was moreover an old-established usage readily to admit Hellenes from other parts who were distinguished by their mental gifts, and to meet them half-way by every possible encouragement. Wealthy families accounted it as an honour to receive in their midst the foreign teachers, and to add a lustre to their houses by recognising and cherishing within their walls the new culture and its representatives.

The Athenians and the Ionians.

On the other hand, however, the new wisdom, whether it was represented by philosophers or by sophists, was encountered by an extremely strong dislike. Annoyance was felt at the presence of men

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one and all of whom came from foreign parts, and wished to be considered out-of-the-way personages. A certain mistrust particularly existed against whatever came from Ionia; for at the very time when Attica had entered into a new connexion with Ionia, the contrast between the two countries had become heightened. In the days of Solon an Ionic love of comfort characterised Athenian life, and the wealthy citizens took pleasure in exhibiting a luxuriant style of life, and in wantoning with purple, gold, and ointments, with horses, hounds, beautiful boys, and festive banquets. But the Persian wars had given rise to more serious views of life, as was natural in times so troublous. The ancient race of the Attic husbandmen had reasserted itself at Marathon, and the more the genuine body of the Attic people came to feel its superiority to the Ionian mariners, the more it loved to distinguish itself from them in language, manners, and dress. At the time of the Persian wars the richer citizens still wore linen robes which flowed down to the feet, and their slaves carried cushioned stools after them as they walked; and they fastened their hair over the forehead with brooch-pins of gold. These were the remains of the Ionic love of ornament and sumptuous comfort, which remained in fashion until the days of Pericles. They now made way for a lighter, shorter, and more simple dress, which gave no occasion for sumptuousness, and consisted of an undergarment of wool without arms, such as the Dorians wore, over which was thrown the cloak, a square piece of cloth. These made up a dress better corresponding to republican equality, and infinitely better adapted for an active life.*

Far more ancient than this external difference between Ionians and Athenians was the contrast in manners and habits of life. In Ionia it had been attempted to remove everything which restricted

* See Thuc. i. 6: cf. K. O. Müller, *Kl. Deutsche Schriften*, ii. 535; v. Leutsch, *Philologus*, Suppl. i. page 98.

enjoyment, all the severer forms of society; so also those concerning the relations between the sexes. The conclusion of a marriage was a serious act at Athens. It was regarded as bearing upon the good of the commonwealth, and was, at least in its stricter form, usually accompanied by religious vows and the priestly blessing. A virgin's life belonged to her father's house, a wife's to her husband; and both remained in a quiet and chaste retirement. In Ionia marriage stood from the first on a lower footing, and women there enjoyed no honour and dignity such as those proper to the Attic housewife. But it was precisely this inferiority of position which excited the Ionian women to assert their influence in another way, and, by a careful cultivation of all their charms and talents, to enchain the men who were in search of mental and sensual excitement, and who for this reason also allowed women to sit at their banquets. Aphrodite took the place of sedate Demeter, the goddess of chaste wedlock; and considering the influence exercised upon the whole of civil society by the Ionian courtesans, and the power they already wielded by means of their social talents, flow of speech, and cleverness (p. 265), not only had the Attic housewives reason to be wroth against these foreign women who violated their rights and destroyed domestic happiness, but all reflecting citizens were necessarily anxious to ward off these influences of Ionia to the best of their power, and at the same time naturally inclined to apprehend a secret poison in every brilliant gift offered from the same quarter,—Ionic free-thinking among the rest.

Fears against the free-thinkers at Athens.

This mistrust increased when the real nature of the new culture became better known. For the most sacred and most highly prized of Hellenic beliefs were based upon the tacit consent of all members of the nation. When now men came over to them, who with reckless confidence subjected the entire tradition of the nation to examination, analysis, and negation, these men naturally appeared no less deserving of

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rejection than the individuals who, in reference to the laws of the state and the ancient system of divine worship, desired to assert their cavils and to elevate them above the law. It was impossible for the multitude to comprehend the immense difference between an Anaxagoras and the Sophists. Single propositions were taken as the standard of judgment; and accordingly everything seemed in an equal degree heresy; and from the first objection was taken against a tendency which led to such results as doubts in the personality of the gods venerated by the state, or in the significance of the signs sent by them; or to the substitution of forces devoid of reason for the Olympian gods,—(as when a glowing body of stone was declared to be shining in the heavens in the place of All-seeing Helios.) In proportion as it was unavoidable to acknowledge the great scientific attainments and eminent mental gifts of the teachers of the new wisdom, it was feared that the latter would gradually think everything to pieces, and dissolve it into nothingness. Men saw their religion, state, manners, and morals in danger; for if the gods no longer exist, the guardians of oaths and the avengers of wrong, what is then to uphold civil society?

Moreover, the Sophists offended in various ways by their personal behaviour. Their restlessness and habits of incessant travel appeared irreconcilable with the character of an orderly citizen, and with the calling of an instructor of youth; their arrogance gave offence; the manner in which they converted their office of instruction into a business was considered indecent, and when in accordance with the example of Protagoras sophistry became a profitable trade, the dislike of it increased. Hence it came to pass that philosophers and Sophists had to hide their agency at Athens, and endeavoured to smuggle in their wisdom under the name of music, grammar, rhetoric, and other traditionary branches of instruction; a line of conduct which was facilitated by the circumstance that So-

phistry had no positive subject-matter of its own, and was naturally a principle of form which might easily be applied to all objects of culture.

Opposite tendencies prevalent at Athens.

Thus about the middle of the fifth century two different tendencies were directly opposed to one another at Athens. Some from motives of vanity took pleasure in coquetting with the new wisdom, and in boasting their cultivation of it; while the large majority of the citizens warded off its influence to the best of their ability. Smallest of all was the number of those who understood how to appreciate the importance of the mental movement, to make themselves masters of its productive germs, and at the same time to preserve their own independence of mind. For such men philosophic culture became a power elevating them above the standpoint of the multitude, without estranging them from the commonwealth.

Family and youth of Pericles.

Upon these times of movement in the minds of men had fallen the youth of Pericles. His father Xanthippus (who on the shores of Ionia had obtained the first victory with Attic vessels of war) belonged to the clan of the Buzygæ (yokers of oxen), whose duty it was to watch over a sacred figure of Athene, the Palladium, and to perform primitive ceremonies relating to the introduction of agriculture. The wife of Xanthippus was Agariste, the sister of Megacles and niece of the great Clisthenes; their marriage was an act of union between the venerable body of the Eupatridæ of Athens and the younger nobility of the Alcmæonidæ, distinguished by their wealth and brilliant share in the constitutional struggles. Thus Pericles' birth had of itself richly endowed him with an ancestral house, the glories of whose past and present military fame were pre-eminently adapted to call forth a lofty ambition in his youthful breast, and to accustom him to regard the welfare of the city as a matter of personal interest to himself. But not only for the interests of the city

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did his parental home serve as a centre; his father's family stood in relations of mutual hospitality with the kings of Sparta, and the connexions of the Alcmæonidæ extended over the whole civilised world, so that in this house a view might be more easily obtained than anywhere else of the condition of the East, of the mutual relations of the Greek states, and of the progress of art and science. The impulses received from this variety of sources were heightened by the extraordinary events which filled the youthful years of Pericles. In his boyhood he was a witness of the burning of Athens, the rout of the Barbarians, and the new birth of his native city; he grew up to be a youth while Athens was constantly rising in power; and his first military service enabled him to participate in the most glorious victories. He saw a wide empire of islands and coasts forming itself under the supreme sovereignty of Athens, and realised to himself the mission of his native city to prove herself worthy of such a position.

Not his birth alone, but also the happiest gifts of nature, qualified him for co-operating towards the attainment of this end. For nature had richly endowed him and eminently adapted him for endurance in mental and physical exertions; he was as vivacious, active, and full of ideas as Themistocles; but his whole character was from the time of his youth incomparably more collected and better regulated. The feature which distinguished his mind before all others was an unwearying desire of culture; nor was any one more vitally affected than the youthful Pericles by the longing after a new and fuller knowledge which characterised his times. Thus it came to pass that he in no instance rested satisfied with what had been handed down from former times, and that while the people timidly and suspiciously refused to admit the Ionic culture, he welcomed the new light with joyous admiration.

He studied music under Pythoclides, a Pythago-

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His training.

rean from Ceos, and then under Damon the flute-player, a man of a most influential personality and a most inventive mind, who in a yet higher degree than Pythoclides availed himself of musical instruction to pass from metres and rhythms to the characters of men and their treatment, to ethical and political teaching—in other words, a Sophist of the best class. Thus, at a time of life when other Athenian youths were wont to conclude their studies, Pericles was really beginning his; he eagerly sought to hold intercourse with the most eminent artists and philosophers, and became the most zealous auditor of Zeno and Anaxagoras, and in his later years also of Protagoras. But Pericles learnt not only for the sake of learning; he had no intention, like Anaxagoras, of forgetting the world and mankind in the midst of his studies; the task of his life was not to solve rising doubts and contradictions in the domain of pure thought. Pericles always kept the commonwealth in view; and in public acts he sought the reconciliation of the opposing forces with which he had become acquainted. For as he felt himself elevated and fortified by means of the culture acquired by him, so he recognised in it a power which ought to be employed for the good of the state. Even as a philosopher he remained a statesman; and the whole ambition of his fiery character was directed towards ruling his fellow-citizens and guiding the state by the resources of mental superiority offered by philosophy.

Pericles' bearing was sufficient to show that his principles of action rested on a totally different basis from that of the ordinary civilisation of the times. The features of his countenance announced that he was habitually occupied with lofty thoughts; an involuntary feeling of awe was inspired by the solemn seriousness pervading his whole manner, and by the immoveable firmness and decisiveness of his personality. Among his friends the philosophers he had learnt to despise a multitude of those petty interests which more than anything else move the ordinary world, and to cast

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off a series of prejudices; and had thus gained both in freedom of soul and in power over other men. When on the occasion of an eclipse all the sailors were seized with fear, he held his cloak before the eyes of a steersman, asking him why he was more frightened when a remoter and larger object hid the light of the sun from him. Internally the most vivacious of men, he was externally calm, cold, and unchanging, without at the same time giving offence by severity or roughness of manner. The fulness of his superiority manifested itself in speech. For in the school of Zeno he had accustomed himself to look at the same things from different points of view, and to surprise his opponents by raising unexpected objections. To exercises in dialectics he owed the versatility of his reasoning powers and his power of speech, to which no man was able to oppose a weapon of equal force. His eloquence was the ripe fruit of a thorough philosophical culture, the direct expression of a mind superior to the multitude; hence he was able, better than any other man, to terrify, to encourage, to persuade; striking similes, from whose binding force none could escape, were at his service, and he was finally rendered irresistible by the calm confidence with which he spoke.

His social position.

But though the youthful Pericles had so great a variety of gifts at his command recommending him to the citizens—the splendour of his descent, which without further trouble procured him a large number of adherents, the influence of his personality, his power of speech, and the wondrous charm of his voice—yet other circumstances formed important obstacles in the way of his success as a public man. He lacked the gift of holding easy and unaffected intercourse with the common people, the affability by means of which Cimon continued to enchain them,—Cimon, who as a joyous man of the world was felt by his fellow-citizens to have more in common with themselves. Again, Pericles differed widely from the multitude of the

people. He knew that the citizens disliked eccentric characters, and this knowledge deprived him of natural ease. Besides, his personality provoked all kinds of suspicions. His seriousness was regarded as arrogance, his reserve as hidden ambition; the people refused to credit this born aristocrat with a true affection for the people's cause; it was remembered how an inclination toward tyrannical usurpation was an hereditary tendency in his mother's family; for which reason everything connected with the Alcmæonidæ was looked upon with suspicion by the citizens, and ostracism was more frequently employed in the case of this than of any other family. (Megacles, the son of Clisthenes, was banished, and the same fate is said to have befallen Xanthippus, the father of Pericles.) And as it chanced, a strange likeness was asserted to exist between Pericles' physiognomy and manner of speaking and those of Pisistratus; a circumstance of which his opponents and detractors made the most for the purpose of warning the citizens against him.

As Pericles was aware that suspicion and prejudice stood in his way, he moderated his ambition by extreme caution. For a long time he took no personal part in any public business, and preferred to prove himself in military service as a citizen ready to share with the least of his fellows every danger and hardship. In this department he supplemented his scientific acquirements by practical experience, and acquired the qualities which distinguished the Athenians before all the other Greeks, viz. readiness of mind and resolute energy in action. Here he learnt lessons from Cimon, whose merits as a military commander he admitted, while at the same time he perceived the weak points of the Cimonian policy which, notwithstanding all her victories, tied Athens down to the consideration of interests other than her own (p. 370), and, from a one-sided eagerness of party-spirit, endeavoured to prevent the completion of the democratic system.

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Pericles and the democracy.

It is true that those who had gone through a philosophical training were usually unfavourable to the rule of the democracy, which is hostile to all personal eminence; nor were its weak points ever more sharply castigated than by Heraclitus. Pericles himself was a thorough aristocrat by nature, and fully conscious of the rights of supremacy belonging to higher culture. He was, however, anything rather than a one-sided theoriser. He recognised in democracy the only constitution which could count on a lasting life at Athens; its growth was interwoven with the history of the state, it corresponded to the condition of Attic society, had been proved in good times and evil, and was in short the necessary constitution for Athens. It also constituted her real strength, which, considering the smallness of the state and the difficulty of the tasks incumbent upon it, lay in the free and independent participation of all in the affairs of the commonwealth, which may count upon the readiness of all to make sacrifices on its behalf, because to all is opened, by means of it, the path to equal honours and equal influence. The moral bearing of the citizens also depended upon democratic government. For the latter enabled every individual to extend his ideas beyond the limits of his personal interests; it obliged every citizen to risk his personal welfare for that of the whole state, and made it his duty to entertain an unchanging political belief; it demanded rational conditions of existence for the community, clearly fixed and regulated by laws patent to all; moreover, the participation of all in the transactions of state offered a pledge that no low and petty motives, such as are not unlikely to decide the course of oligarchic bodies, dictated the resolutions of the political community. An insidious statecraft which, like that of the Spartans, rested its strength in a timid love of secrecy, and based its successes on deceit and falsehood, was impossible at Athens.

Now, although Pericles acknowledged democracy as

the constitution established by law and most suitable by nature, yet the name and outward forms of the constitution were insufficient of themselves to determine the principles which should regulate the conduct of affairs. The sovereign power belonged to the Demos. But no man could be more fully persuaded than Pericles of the incapacity of the multitude to govern by itself. Every popular body must be governed, its steps guided, and its interests pointed out to it, unless the well-being of the state is to be given up to accident and unreason. This guidance could never return into the hands of single families which set up a hereditary right to a privileged position and influence. Those times were past. The power of the nobility had long been destroyed by internal discord; since the peasants were free landed proprietors and civic industry flourished, the ancient Families were superior to the rest neither in possessions nor in military reputation nor in devotion to the public interests. Individual families had indeed retained some of their pristine splendour. But a nobility no longer existed as a corporate body; and the battles of Coronea and Tanagra had finally thinned its ranks. To lead the people another kind of nobility was accordingly requisite—a nobility acquired by innate powers; the people had to be led by men representing in their persons the better feelings of the multitude, whom philosophy had elevated over base considerations and prejudices, whom the prescience of reason and the power of eloquence enabled to assert their mental superiority in such a way as to become the men of public confidence. The true leader of the people, or *demagogue*, was to rule—in whom the people, the mass of which possesses less clearness of intelligence, less moderation, less conscientiousness, and a feebler sense of honour than the individual, might find its sentiments and tendencies expressed. Thus, the civic equality demanded by the laws was to be combined with that guidance by one strong hand which reason demanded; and the constitutional rights

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of the citizen were to be reconciled with the inalienable rights of superior intelligence.

The idea of such a combination of democracy and monocracy, as it existed in the mind of Pericles, was peculiarly justified by the character of his times and of his native city. For in those times the theoretico-practical culture offered by philosophy and Sophistry was a real power, and one which could not be easily transferred from the individual to the multitude. And moreover, the civic community of Attica (which even on ordinary days of assembly numbered 5,000 or thereabouts) was, it is true, like any other popular body, incapable of acting rationally and to the purpose of its own accord; but the Attic Demos was beyond a doubt superior to all other civic communities in this respect, that its happy natural gifts supplied it with a sure tact and correct judgment in the choice of its leaders, and that it knew how to follow these leaders when chosen, if they with superior intelligence indicated to it its true interests. These qualities the Athenians incontrovertibly manifested in the times of the Wars of Liberation: they gave their perfect confidence at the right season to the right man—a devoted confidence which constituted the pledge of the well-being of the state, and elevated, refined, and united the multitude; proving how in Athens even the common people were something better than a mob. But if the civic community in this respect facilitated the realisation of Pericles' ideas, it was further necessary to remove all other influences from acting upon the people and reducing it to a state of dependence; in order that this people might unconditionally give itself up to the guidance of the orator in possession of its confidence, and be able to participate one and all, and without let or hindrance, in all questions of public interest.

Pericles as a party politician.

In order to attain to this end, Pericles became a party man, and combined with Ephialtes and the other leaders of the party of progress. But, unlike the demagogues of the ordinary stamp, who had nothing

beyond an immediate object in view, and who thought of nothing but the removal of what they held objectionable, Pericles had sketched out the plan of the new system of government, which was to combine the advantages of a true aristocracy with those of democracy. As a member of that party, Pericles acted with extreme caution and reserve; he concealed the power which he possessed; for he feared ostracism; because a forced absence of several years from Athens would have destroyed the whole plan of his life. He was for this reason compared to the state vessel, the Salaminia, which appeared only on occasions of exceptional importance. For this reason also it is extremely difficult to form a judgment as to his relations to the party of reform. It is impossible to demonstrate how many of its measures he suggested and promoted himself, and what he allowed to be done against his private opinion. For even the most eminent man sacrifices part of his independence in becoming a party man, and cannot be as conscientious in the approval of the means tending to the attainment of the common end, as he would be if acting by himself. And temptations of a peculiar kind are of course offered by the constitution of those states in which the different parties are obliged to emulate one another in wooing the favours of a popular assembly. For in these cases, in order to obtain the sanction of single proposals or entire tendencies of parties, advantage is taken not only of the good and strong sides of the citizens, but of their weak points as well; in order to acquire influence, attempts are made to satisfy the lower as well as the higher impulses of humanity, particularly the love of money and enjoyment; and means are employed the very use of which attests the low opinion entertained of those in whose case they are applied. Measures of this kind (which have more than anything else contributed to bring into discredit the Attic democracy, and together with it the name of Pericles) were due to a great variety of occasions and motives.

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Policy of the democratic party.

The primary motive was the necessity of breaking the power of wealth, in order to make possible the free developement of the constitution; for the liberality practised by wealthy citizens brought the poor into a condition of dependence, and served as a support for the efforts of the aristocratic party, at the same time confusing the political consciousness of the nation. To free the citizens from the operation of influences of this kind, the state moneys were employed to enable the poor to procure sources of enjoyment, without on that account feeling themselves under an obligation to single individuals among their fellow-citizens (p. 373).

The distributions of money were closely connected with the spirit of democracy in general. For, since in all states the power of the ruler is surrounded by a certain splendour of life which also redounds to the credit of the entire state, in a democracy the Demos is, as a matter of fairness, entitled to share in this privilege of rulers. In proportion, then, as in oligarchies real and personal property are accumulated in few hands, it is the task of a popular state to provide for the spread of prosperity and comfort among the people, for its freedom from all want and suffering, and for a certain equalisation of all distinctions of wealth and poverty.

Harsh contrasts in social life are an evil in the case of any and every state; but in a democracy, which is based on the joyous participation of all its citizens in the commonwealth, such contrasts are most keenly felt, and amount to dissonances contravening the spirit of the constitution. In a democratic state, no class of men ought to be treated as inferior to the rest, or to feel itself hurt by the social position of the rich; no fermenting matter ought to be left in the state; and the peace of public life ought to be endangered by no feelings of envy, jealousy, and distrust between the different classes of the citizens. For the praises of democracy, and of the equality of all citizens before the law, would sound like a mockery

in the ears of the poor, and provoke bitter discontent among them, if glaringly contradicted by the actual conditions of society.

Accordingly, it was of necessity one of the leading points of view for democratic statesmanship, to reconcile as completely as possible the distinctions endangering internal peace; a reconciliation far more easily capable of being carried into effect at Athens than in any state of modern times. The contrast between rich and poor was altogether neither excessive nor irremoveable. Slavery formed a broad and convenient base for the superstructure of civic life. Without the slaves, the Attic democracy would have been an impossibility; for they alone enabled the poor, as well as the rich, to take a daily part in public affairs. For only a very small minority were poor enough to have to get through life without the help of slaves; and we find Attic families complaining of being forced to the most painful retrenchment, if they were not able to keep more than seven slaves.

Taking into consideration the easy conditions of life thence resulting for the citizens, besides the favourable conditions of the climate which so essentially lessened their daily wants, and finally the moderation which characterised the Athenians in their desires of social enjoyment, we may understand how, in its care for the public comfort, the state could attain to results proportionately so great that it could satisfy the poor by means of small additions to their income, and so far remove the contrasts affecting the peace of the commonwealth, that they did not really disturb the concord of the state.

The poorer classes favoured.

The measures taken for this purpose were of very various kinds. In the first place, care was taken to encourage all trades and occupations which enriched the people; next, it was provided that food should remain cheap, and particularly that the price of corn should be kept low. The state considered it its duty to counteract by means of severe laws the trade of the

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buyers-up of corn, and itself kept corn-magazines, and caused bread and corn to be sold at low rates. The gratuitous distribution of provisions first took place at the festivals, when the democratic principle of general equality found the readiest acknowledgment. The gods bestow their blessings upon rich and poor alike, and it redounds to the honour of the gods, if as large numbers as possible enjoy of their gifts and gratefully participate in their festivals.

The people was accordingly entertained at public banquets in the courts of the temples; and when on solemn occasions the state offered hecatombs of oxen to the gods, an opportunity was at the same time afforded to the people to take its fill of sacrificial meat. And the feasts became more and more numerous, the sacrificial banquets more and more frequent and abundant. The people accustomed itself to be the guest of the state, to be amused and entertained by the latter, and found a constantly increasing pleasure in enjoying itself without any exertions or expense on its own part. Distributions of cash, out of the surplus of the public exchequer, had been made even before the time of Themistocles (p. 231); and a new opportunity was offered when the theatre was built (p. 373), and various extensions of the system followed. The party of Reform had herein discovered the most effective means of securing its popularity and disarming the munificence of their opponents. Demonides of Œa was the inventor of this measure. The theatre-moneys or *Theorica* were now further extended to those festivals at which no spectacular exhibitions were given; they became daily allowances out of which the citizens purchased their own food at the public entertainments; and in the case of festivals lasting for several days, the amount distributed was doubled and trebled.*

The Theoricon.

* With regard to the testimony of Aristotle as to Demonides (ὁ Οἰηθεν) as the adviser of Pericles, see Plut. *Pericles*, c. 9; Böckh, *P. E. of A.* vol. i. p. 294, *E. Tr.*

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Introduction of the pay-system in war and peace.

Already this *Theoricon* was called at Athens wages or pay, in the more general sense of the term, designating every kind of pecuniary profit obtained out of the public exchequer. For this purpose other occasions and points of view were speedily discovered. Salaries in return for public services were utterly unknown to the earlier systems of government among the Hellenes; the services performed by the citizen for the commonwealth were performed by him on his own account, and were at once a matter of duty and of honour. Nor was military pay known. But since events had made it necessary for the Athenians always to have an army in readiness for war, the citizens could not be expected to comply with such demands without compensation, as, unlike the Spartans, they had no state-slaves to till the fields during war. Therefore, military pay was introduced in the time of Pericles, amounting in wages and board-money to a daily sum of four obols (6*d.*).

As to public services in times of peace, compensation was originally only allowed for extraordinary services (*e.g.* envoys received an outfit and travelling-money from the public funds); but all other superior offices of state, whose occupants represented the sovereign rights of the people, were regarded as honorary; while the servants of the magistrates, who performed only ministerial duties, and were permanent servants of the state, the heralds, writers, beadles, and police-officers, received pay. This principle, again, was attacked from the democratic point of view. To the poor man the time which he devotes to the public service is a sacrifice, not so to the rich; accordingly, the poor man is placed at a manifest disadvantage, and is hindered in the exercise of the rights constitutionally belonging to him.

It was in the interest of the party of movement to promote as general as possible a participation in public affairs; for the power of this party was based upon the multitude of the poorer citizens; and it was desired

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that the lower classes should be prevented neither by timidity nor by poverty from taking part in public affairs. In order, then, actually to carry out the equality of rights among all classes founded by Aristides, it was necessary to compensate the poor for every public service. For every citizen was to acquire the political education which can only be attained to by practical experience, *i.e.* by taking part in the proceedings of the law-courts, the popular assembly, and the council-board. Otherwise, in despite of all ordinances of the constitution, political trainnig, experience, and power, would remain a privilege of the rich.

As soon as this idea had been once propounded, it necessarily came to be gradually realised in all its bearings; earliest of all in the case of the law-courts.

The judicial system.

Solon had transferred to the entire body of the citizens, together with the supreme sovereignty of state, the supreme judicial power; the civic body was authorised to call the officers of state to account after they had resigned their functions, and to it an appeal lay for the Attic citizen from every judicial sentence. This was the most important of all popular rights, the concession leading to the most important consequences, and therefore the name *Heliæa*, originally signifying nothing beyond "assembly of the people," received at Athens the particular signification implying the civic community, as assembled not only for the election of public officers, or the sanction of laws, but also for the exercise of its supreme judicial office. In proportion as the citizens more and more completely possessed themselves of their rights of sovereignty, they brought into the sphere of their direct decision all more important cases of law, and thus limited the functions of the magistrates, who had originally, together with their administrative powers, been also authorised to decide judicially all legal questions connected with the sphere of their office. No perfect separation was, it is true, ever effected between the

administration of the government executive and that of the laws, but it finally came to pass, that the officers of government nominated by the people retained only a penal police-authority, in virtue of which they might punish offences as they occurred, up to a certain degree of penalties. In all questions involving higher penalties, however, nothing was left to them beyond the preliminary steps of the judicial process; they heard the accusations, examined the parties, and, when the case was ready for sentence, brought it before the popular tribunal.

This popular tribunal was, as far as our knowledge of the Attic polity reaches back, different from the great civic body, of which it was only a part, taken by lot out of the citizens of more than thirty years of age. The entire body of citizens made over its supreme judicial power to this committee, the members of which were bound by a special oath, derived (according to the statement of ancient writers) from the times of Solon, to act as impartial and incorruptible guardians of the laws. When the entire commonwealth received its new system through Clisthenes, it is probable that, among the other popular institutions which had fallen into decay during the age of the Tyrants, the judicial system was also in the main settled in the form which it subsequently retained. Out of the ten tribes, 5,000 citizens were every year chosen by lot as jurymen, and in addition to these a reserve of 1,000 substitute jurymen. The five thousand were divided into ten bodies or sections, whose members were composed of a mixture from all the tribes, each section forming a judicial court; but it depended on the importance of every particular case, whether the whole sections sat as juries or only parts of them, or several sections combined into one court. The more numerous the court, the less was bribery to be feared. The publicity of the proceedings offered a further protection against partial judgments, as did the circumstance, that the jurymen

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from the most different districts of the country were not united by lot in one judicial court until immediately before its sitting.

Changes in the judicial system.

Although in the time of Pericles no essential changes took place in this system, yet circumstances occurred which exercised a very important influence upon it. The rapid increase of the population and the growth of commerce increased the number of lawsuits to an extraordinary degree; and although the district-judges established in ancient times continued to exist, who went circuit through the country and settled petty matters, as well as the umpires or διαιτῆται, who were either chosen by the contending parties or nominated by the state, yet the business of the juries was enormously swelled, particularly after the overthrow of the Areopagus had essentially enlarged the sphere of their duties. The citizens were moreover permitted to omit the lower stages of judicial examination and go directly before the juries, a method of procedure which was eagerly adopted; while the archons, for their part, came to use the right of deciding by themselves which belonged to them, with increased caution and diminished frequency. The popular courts of judgment, which had more than any other institution contributed to the foundation of the democracy as the latter developed, became continually more powerful and influential; they were simply committees of the sovereign civic body, and accordingly, like the latter, guardians of the constitution; and their power was augmented in proportion as the existing system of law lacked completeness, above all constitutional law.

Subjection of the allies to the Athenian tribunals.

The most essential of all these changes in the judicial system was, however, produced by the relations between Athens and her allies. For when the hegemony of Athens became, in fact, more and more a dominion, the civic body of Attica claimed supreme judicial authority over all the allies. The federal towns only retained their lower courts, which decided cases up to a certain degree of importance. All private disputes

of greater moment, all public and capital matters, were brought before the Attic juries.

This extension of their jurisdiction, as enforced by the Athenians, had a twofold origin. For with reference, in the first place, to disputes between the members of the alliance, it was originally the duty of their general assemblies to settle such questions. After the federal sanctuary had been transferred to Athens, and the meetings of the diet had entirely ceased, the Attic courts took the place of the latter. Secondly, the subjection of the allies to the jurisdiction of her courts was one form of the sovereign rights which Athens claimed in reference to the allies; since, according to the Greek legal notion, the dependence of a state cannot be more clearly expressed than by obliging its members to seek the legal decision of their cases from the tribunals of another state. This was particularly the case with the colonies, which, according to the most ancient usage, were universally obliged to settle their legal disputes in the mother-city. And from colonial law was derived the idea of the hegemony; for the performance of military service was also a duty of the colonies. Since Athens regarded herself as the mother-city of the Ionian towns, in enforcing the jurisdiction of her courts she certainly followed the norms of earlier Greek political law. At the time and in the extent, however, in which the measure was carried out, it remained an act of violence, although a variety of forms was discovered in order to soften the impression of this arbitrary interference with the rights of other states. It is probable that the voluntary assent of the allied towns was in outward appearance obtained, and that treaties on the subject were concluded. This will also explain how the lawsuits of the allies could be counted among the class of legal cases settled according to treaties. It was a milder way of expressing the establishment by force of a new relation, just as the name of allies was retained instead of that of "subjects," merely for the sake of form.*

* See Note XXVII. Appendix.

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Payment of jurymen

Since this forced extension of the jurisdiction of their courts, the Attic heliasts were over-burdened with business. With the exception of the days devoted to festivals or to popular assemblies, the juries sat day after day in their different sections; the whole city resembled a vast court of law, when early in the morning the hosts of the jurymen, the fourth part of the entire civic body, were seen moving to distribute themselves into their various places of business. Hence so great demands were in this matter made upon both time and labour, that a compensation was fairly required. Moreover, a compensation for judicial labours corresponded to ancient usage; the umpires, too, were paid by the parties electing them; and lastly, in the present case, the means were obtained with the greatest ease from the court-fees. In this way it was under this head soonest effected, that the citizens received pay for the exercise of one of the sovereign rights of the community; the jurymen were paid for every business-day in which they had been actively engaged, one obol, a sum no more than enabling them to buy bread sufficient for the day. This system of pay was probably introduced soon after the fall of the Areopagus (p. 382).

and of participators in the popular assembly.

Of a far more unusual character was the grant of money on account of attendance at the public assemblies. For while service on juries might be regarded as a trouble undertaken on behalf of other towns, the other was the simple exercise of the citizens' own rights of sovereignty, for which the ruler in a certain sense paid himself. However, the participation in the forty regular and in the many extraordinary assemblies of the citizens was a sacrifice on the part of the poor, and the interests of democracy required that not only the members of a superior class, who led a life of independent means in the capital, but also those of the lower classes, the artisans who had no means of their own, &c. should appear in the assemblies; for, as matters stood, the inhabitants of the coasts dwelling farther off, and the peasants, were after all prevented

from exercising their rights of voting. The introduction of the payment of an obol for attendance in the popular assembly decided the downfall of all aristocratic influences; it was due to a motion of Callistratus, who bears the cognomen Parnytes or Parnope, a contemporary of Pericles (no participation on the part of the latter being mentioned in this innovation). A fee of one drachm per sitting was next introduced for the members of the council. The public speakers also received pay when they addressed the assembly in the name of the state.

Completion of the democratic system.

Thus the system of pay extended itself further and further through the whole public life of the community; nor did any of all the other innovations so deeply affect the character of the entire state as this. It involved a renunciation of the ancient view of the Hellenes, who presumed a certain independence in the social position of those who wished to take part in public affairs, and were of opinion that artisans and petty handicraftsmen ought to have no voice in the transaction of business of state. Now, the glory of the state was sought in the fact, that through all classes was spread a knowledge of the political system in its internal and external relations, a familiarity with the laws and judicial procedure, a sure tact in forming an opinion and experience in delivering it in speech; and that as far as possible all the citizens should alternately govern and be governed. Pericles favoured such a developement of Attic citizen-life, because by it the ancient parties and class-distinctions which Thucydides had endeavoured to revive were abolished, while the city advanced in unity and strength, and because after the removal of internal dissensions it was proportionately easier to exercise a guidance over the entire body of the citizens. The complete establishment of the democratic system of government was the necessary preliminary step towards the rule of Pericles himself.*

* See Note XXVIII. Appendix.

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And therefore, when Pericles had in his hands the rule which he had sought, he had himself become another man;—not that he had changed his principles or thrown off a mask; but he was now able to reject the demagogic means which he had been forced to employ in order to overcome the exertions of the adverse party; and he could act with greater freedom according to his own ideas, since he had ceased to be a party man. Accordingly, his conduct was characterised by greater solemnity and severity, and he more clearly showed the difference existing between him and all the rest of the Athenians. After a steady pursuit of his object during four-and-twenty years, ever since the death of Aristides (p. 369), he had attained to it after the banishment of Thucydides. The citizens had now accustomed themselves to obey him.

Pericles as a public orator;

The fact that Pericles for fifteen years maintained himself at the helm of the state, and was able to rule a community jealous of its own rights according to his will without the use of force or any violation of the constitution, was in so far due to the circumstances of the times, that Athens had grown weary of the dissensions which had so long kept up an uninterrupted state of discord among the citizens. During the last forty years one party struggle had followed upon the other; Xanthippus had been seen contending against Miltiades, Themistocles against Aristides, Cimon against Ephialtes, and Thucydides against Pericles, while the commonwealth drifted hither and thither between the opposite influences of a retarding policy and one of advance. The last and most vehement struggle had added to the general feeling of weariness; and when the party of Cimon was disarmed, the great majority of the citizens longed, on behalf of the state, for peace at home and a firm and consistent attitude towards other powers. Of this state of feeling Pericles availed himself, and therefore the comic writers termed

him, as he ruled like the Olympian Zeus over the city, the son of Cronus and Stasis, *i.e.* of party-contention; for it was the preceding contentions between the parties which had made him great.*

The Athenians were a difficult people to govern; for every man wished to enquire and judge for himself, democracy being in general disinclined to have anything to do with men who lay claim to obedience. Moreover, the inequality between official and non-official persons became as small as possible, on account of the rapid change of office; and by the introduction of election by lot the feeling of respect towards the magistrates had received its final blow. The offices of the archons retained a certain dignity, because they were still unsalaried and demanded a certain expenditure on the part of their occupants, for which reason men of inferior means abstained from offering themselves for them; but they were mere places of honour, devoid of any political influence. In proportion as the government offices decreased in importance, the leading power in the state passed into the hands of the popular orators, for their influence was independent of annual change and of responsibility; they were obeyed by the people because, instead of demanding submission, they merely desired to convince. Accordingly, he to whom the community confides as being best able to judge and to express clearly the interests of the commonwealth, rules as the man of public confidence. This position no man was able to dispute with Pericles; for the men who beside him enjoyed high authority at Athens, and represented different political views, such as Myronides, and Tolmides, and Leocrates, the victor of Ægina, were brave generals, but incapable of becoming the rivals of Pericles in the guidance of the civic body.

* Cratinus ap. Plut. *Pericl.* c. 3. Cronus is at the same time the representative of all old-fashioned things, and Stasis of revolution, out of which the new order of things is born. Both ages are united in him. Cf. his saying as to the unwritten ordinances of law, Lysias, vi. 10.

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as commander-in-chief;

But had Pericles been obliged to exercise his influence merely as a private person, the power exercised by him would have been extremely narrowed; for he would then have only been able to speak in popular assemblies which others had summoned. If, therefore, he desired to conduct the government of the state without violating the constitution, it was requisite for him to possess official authority. Among the offices requiring a certain capacity, and on that very account always filled up by public election, there was none more important than the generalship or *Strategy*. The importance of this office had increased in proportion as that of those filled up by lot had sunk, and rose higher and higher the more that Athens exercised a rule based upon the force of arms. It accordingly remained customary to choose for this office principally men of families of high repute, whose names were of good omen. The *Strategi* not only held the supreme command over the military and naval troops, but they also nominated, and exercised control over, the commanders of the triremes, who were responsible for the efficient condition of their vessels; they managed foreign affairs, received the communications of foreign envoys, appointed the days of the public assemblies, introduced to the latter the envoys, and prepared all matters of public business for the final decision of the people. They exercised a general superintendence over the public safety, and were accordingly also authorised to prohibit or dissolve popular assemblies, if the latter at seasons of great public excitement seemed likely to endanger the safety of the state.

The long schooling through which Pericles had passed in the art of war, and the rare combination of caution and energy which he had displayed in every command held by him, had in this respect also secured him the confidence of the citizens. Therefore, they for a succession of years elected him general, and as such invested him with an extraordinary authority,

which reduced the offices of the other nine generals to mere posts of honour, which were filled by persons agreeable to him. It even came to pass that the ten generals of one particular year were chosen out of the ten tribes, but that Pericles was added to them by an extraordinary additional election as the representative of the entire civic community. Thus during the period of his administration the whole centres of gravity of public life lay in this office. As *Strategus* Pericles carried through the most important laws; as such he was the acting president of the republic; and the helmet with which he caused himself to be represented by the sculptors, served, not to conceal the pointed form of his skull, as the comic poets mockingly averred, but to indicate the dictatorial power of the general-in-chief as the real foundation of his authority of government.*

as superintendent of the finances;

Another public office of the highest importance which was filled by election was that of the superintendent of the finances (*Tamias* or *Epimeletes* of the public revenues), who, against the usual rule of the democracy, had no colleagues in his office, and remained in it for a period of four years, after the expiration of which he might be re-elected. It was an office of supreme confidence, after the administration of which even Aristides had been indicted for peculation. None but the occupant of this office could command a complete view of the pecuniary resources of the state; therefore his voice was of decisive importance in determining upon any public undertaking. He had under him the general exchequer of the administration, and was at the same time bound to superintend all the officers of finances. Without him no resolution of moment could be taken; he was expected to offer proposals as to the means of increasing and as to the ways of expending the annual revenues; and although his administration was controlled by other officers, particularly by the "auditor of the administration,"—who

* See Note XXIX. Appendix.

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was elected by the people, in order in every prytany (vol. i. p. 385) to keep an account of all receipts and expenditure,—yet a vigorous statesman administering this highest financial post held in his hands a power such as could be derived from no other of the ordinary government offices at Athens.

as commissary of the civic body;

Finally, much importance attached to the conduct of business by means of committees elected for the purpose, in order that resolutions of the citizens, the execution of which required the supreme guidance of an experienced and vigorous hand, might be carried into effect by suitable persons. Among the objects for which such committees were appointed were the supply of arms and vessels to make up the complement required to be in constant readiness for war; the repair and improvement of the fortifications; the management of civic festivals; and above all the public buildings erected in honour of the gods, and for the adornment of the city. The superintendents (*Epistatæ*) of the public works received from the citizens their authority for the period of the business in hand, and, as long as this lasted, possessed very extensive official powers; since the multitude of artists, handicraftsmen, and labourers—in other words, a large part of the inhabitants of Attica living by daily wages—stood under their personal influence. They distributed the tales of work, and superintended the workmen; acted as judges in all questions of dispute between the latter; had considerable sums to expend; and accordingly, when they were repeatedly and for longer periods summoned to the conduct of extensive works by the confidence of the civic body, came to exercise a very important and extensive influence.

Inasmuch, then, as Pericles, besides the authority of a Strategy prolonged to him in an extraordinary measure, also filled the office of superintendent of the finances (probably during several financial periods of four years' duration each); inasmuch as he was repeatedly and for long periods of years superintendent of public

works, and was able, as elected *Athlothete*, to conduct and reform the great civic festivals; inasmuch as his personal influence was moreover so great that he could in all important matters determine the civic elections according to his wish: it is easy to understand how he ruled the state in times of war and of peace; how the offices filled up by lot entirely lost their importance with reference to the public policy; and how the power of both the council and of the whole civic body in all essentials passed into his hands. Thus a consistent and firm government was made possible, such as all reasonable citizens must have desired to live under in times of danger; though, on the other hand, it is true that all the principles of democracy were virtually abolished, viz. the constant change and distribution of official power, and even the responsibility attaching to it, and forming the strongest guarantee of the sovereignty of the people. Under the title of "necessary public-service money," he might spend sums of ten talents (as he did, *e.g.*, in order to influence Cleandridas and Plistoanax, p. 406), without any one daring to demand in the name of the people a clear exposition of the facts of the case. No official class existed to oppose him, because all officials on the expiration of their term of office returned immediately into private life. Pericles, alone invested with a continuous official authority which commanded all the various branches of public life, stood in solitary grandeur firm and calm above the surging state.* CHAP. III.

as a private individual.

Pericles was sagacious enough never to have in view anything but his main object, and to avoid all external appearances which might estrange him from the body of the citizens and give rise to jealousy. He was well aware that his power would not appear invidious to the vulgar crowd, until it was combined with the splendours and the pleasures of life. To resign the latter was no hard task for him as a philosopher. He was the type of temperance and sobriety. He made

* See Note XXX. Appendix.

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it his rule never to assist at a festive banquet; and no Athenian could remember to have seen Pericles, since he stood at the head of the state, in the company of friends over the wine-cup. He was known to no man except as one serious and collected, full of grave thoughts and affairs. His whole life was devoted to the service of the state, and his power accompanied by so thorough a self-denial, and so full a measure of labour, that the multitude in its love of enjoyment could surely not regard the possession of that power as an enviable privilege. Nor was he ever seen enjoying a walk outside the gates, or taking his leisure in places of public resort. For him there existed only one road which he was daily seen to take, the road leading from his house to the market-place and the council-hall, the seat of the government, where the current business of state was transacted.

Pericles and Aspasia.

His domestic relations were far from happy. He had (before Ol. lxxxiii. 3; B.C. 451) married a relative of his own, who had previously been the wife of the wealthy Hipponicus, the son of Callias (p. 410). She bore Pericles two sons, Xanthippus and Paralus. But the pair were ill-matched. The spoilt woman was probably displeased with the severe bearing of her husband, while the latter had discovered in Aspasia of Miletus the charm of a connexion based upon deep affection and mutual appreciation, which made the existing union intolerable to him. The marriage was dissolved. The woman followed her own inclinations, by entering into a third marriage, while Pericles took Aspasia into his house.*

Aspasia, the daughter of Axiochus, was a woman after the manner of Thargelia (p. 265), who belonged to the same city, and was regarded as her model. She too was no minister of luxury and lust, like

* Xanthippus, the son of Pericles, was married for several years to the daughter of Isander, before he died (B.C. 430) of the plague. See Plut. *Pericl.* c. 36 (Sintenis, p. 276). Hence the union of Pericles and the divorced wife of Hipponicus belongs to a period of time before B.C. 451. Cf. Hiecke, *De pace Cim.* p. 44.

the common courtesans of Ionia; it was her desire not only to procure and partake in enjoyment, but by her beauty and culture to attract to herself the first men of the times, and by her connexion with them to acquire influence and power. Thus she came to Athens at a time when everything new and extraordinary, everything which appeared to be an enlargement of the limits of ancient usage, a step forwards and a new acquisition, was joyously welcomed. Nor was it long before it was recognised that she enchained the souls of men by no mere arts of deception of which she had learnt the trick. Hers was a lofty and richly endowed nature, with a perfect sense of all that is beautiful, and hers a harmonious and felicitous developement. For the first time the treasures of Hellenic culture were found in the possession of a woman, surrounded by the graces of her womanhood—a phenomenon which all men looked upon with eyes of wonder. She was able to converse with irresistible grace on politics, philosophy, and art, so that the most serious Athenians, even such men as Socrates, sought her out in order to listen to her conversation. But her real importance for Athens began on the day when she made the acquaintance of Pericles, and formed with him a connexion of mutual love; for the association into which Pericles entered with her for life proves that it was not sensual love or a passing excitement upon which this connexion was based. It was a real marriage, which only lacked the civil sanction because she was a foreigner; it was an alliance of the truest and tenderest affection which death alone dissolved,—the endless source of a domestic felicity which no man needed more than the statesman who lived retired from all external recreations, and was unceasingly engaged in the labour of his life.

Doubtless the possession of this woman was in many respects invaluable for Pericles. Not only were her accomplishments the delight of the leisure hours which he allowed himself, and the recreation of his mind

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from its cares, but she also kept him in intercourse with the daily life around him. She possessed what he lacked, the power of being perfectly at her ease in every kind of society; she kept herself informed of everything that took place in the city; nor can distant countries have escaped her attention, since she is said to have first acquainted Pericles with Sicilian oratory, which was at that time developing itself. She was of use to him through her various connexions at home and abroad, as well as by the keen glance of her feminine sagacity and by her knowledge of men. Thus the foremost woman of her age lived in the society of the man whose superiority of mind had placed him at the head of the first city of the Hellenes, in loyal devotion to her friend and husband; and although the mocking spirits at Athens eagerly sought out every blemish which could be discovered in the life of Pericles, yet no calumny was ever able to vilify this rare union and to blacken its memory.*

His domestic economy.

Pericles had no leisure for occupying himself with the management of his private property. He farmed out his lands, and entrusted the money to his faithful slave Euryalus, who accurately knew the measure which his master deemed the right one, and managed the household accordingly; which indeed presented a striking contrast to those of the wealthy families of Athens, and ill corresponded to the tastes of Pericles' sons as they grew up. For in it there was no overflow, no joyous and reckless expenditure, but so careful an economy that everything was calculated down to drachm and obolus.

His public character.

Pericles was convinced that nothing short of a perfectly blameless integrity and the severest self-abnegation could render possible the permanency of his influence upon his fellow-citizens, and prevent the exposure of even the smallest blot to his cavillers and

* With regard to Aspasia as Pericles' instructress in oratory, κατὰ τὸν Γοργίαν, see Philostr. ed. Kayser, p. 364, 11. As to the connexion between Pericles and Aspasia, see Plut. *Pericl.* c. 24; Suidas, v. Ἀσπασία.

enemies. After Themistocles had for the first time shown how a statesman and general might enrich himself, Pericles was in this respect the admirer and most faithful follower of Aristides, and in the matter of conscientiousness went even much farther than Cimon, spurning on principle every opportunity offered by the office of general for a perfectly justifiable personal enrichment. All attempts made to bribe him remained fruitless. His lofty sentiments are evidenced by the remark which he addressed to Sophocles, who fell in love even in his old age: "Not only the hands, but the eyes also of a general should practise continence!" The more vivid the appreciation he felt particularly for female charms, the more highly must we esteem the equanimity to which he had attained by means of a self-command which had become a matter of habit with him; nor did anything make so powerful an impression upon the changeable Athenians as the immoveable calm of this great man. Thus, on returning from a popular assembly which had lasted till the evening, he allowed a citizen to whom his speech had given offence, to walk behind him uttering vituperations and menaces. He returns no word of answer, and on his arrival at home bids his slave attend the man with a torch, lest he should take harm during his return.

His speeches

Pericles was neither a lengthy nor a frequent speaker. He avoided nothing more scrupulously than superfluous words; and therefore, as often as he appeared before the people, prayed to Zeus to guard him from useless words. But the brief words which he actually spoke made a proportionately deep impression upon the citizens. His conception of his calling was too solemn and lofty to permit him to consent to talk as the multitude liked. He was not afraid, when he found the citizens weak and irresolute, to express to them bitter truths and serious blame. His speeches always endeavoured to place every single case in connexion with facts of a more general kind, so as to instruct and elevate the minds of the citizens; he

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never grew weary of pointing out how no individual happiness was conceivable apart from the welfare of the entire body; he proved to the citizens the claim which he had established upon their confidence; he clearly and concisely developed his political views, endeavouring not to talk over his hearers, but to convince them; and when the feeling of his own superiority was about to tempt him to despise the multitude, he admonished himself to be patient and long-suffering. "Take heed, Pericles!" he cried to himself, "those whom thou rulest are Hellenes, citizens of Athens."

and political principles.

The people is apt to judge from simple points of view. The popularity of a statesman accordingly depends upon his ideas being clear and intelligible, agreeable to sound common-sense, pleasing to the mind, and upon their being proved right by events. The principles of the statesmanship of Pericles were so simple that all the citizens were perfectly capable of understanding them; and he attached a particular value to the idea that the Athenians, instead of, like the Lacedæmonians, seeking their strength in an affectation of secrecy, were unwilling to overcome their enemies by deception and cunning stratagems.

His foreign policy.

After Athens had successfully defeated all attempts of Spartan love of dominion, the unity of Greece was solely based on the confederacy between the two leading states. This confederacy also had been broken after the third Messenian war. Since that time there existed confederacy and counter-confederacy. Such was the progress made by the Attico-Argive counter-confederacy that for a time it appeared as if Sparta were to be entirely driven into the background, and as if the new confederacy with Athens at its head might come to include the whole of Hellas. These schemes were destroyed at Coronea. Since that day the two halves of Greece confronted one another with heightened jealousy; all the states were made parties to this opposition, which rendered a lasting peace impossible.

As the Persian war had seemed inevitable to

Themistocles, so the struggle with Sparta loomed as certain before the eyes of Pericles. The term of peace allowed before its outbreak had accordingly to be employed by Athens in preparing herself for the struggle awaiting her, by collecting and organising her forces; for any external extension of her dominion was unnecessary, it was indeed simply dangerous, as the history of the last fifteen years had sufficiently taught; for all the calamities suffered by Athens were the results of premature undertakings, the end of which Pericles had warningly predicted (p. 406).

Caution and moderation must accordingly constitute the primary rule of foreign policy; for the existence of such a power as the Attic was endangered by every mishap interfering with the feeling of fear on the part of the allies. A dominion on the mainland in addition to that by sea was impossible, because a permanent dominion in Bœotia would be only attainable by means of military occupation, which again would oblige Athens utterly to dissipate her military forces and to involve herself in ceaseless feuds. Athens was everywhere to abstain from the conduct of a conquering state, constantly tempting fortune by new undertakings. Upon this duty of a calm limitation of the action of the state, Pericles, in the first instance, insisted as against the older party of Cimon, which always advocated war with Persia in any case. There also existed, however, another younger party, which thought nothing impossible after the victories of Cimon, and dreamt of glorious campaigns in Sicily, Italy, and Carthage. Pericles considered every unnecessary war both unwise and criminal, as risking the fortunes of the state and the lives of the citizens. Athens was, according to his opinion, to submit with equanimity to evil report; firmly and calmly to defend her own interests, in no point to allow the precedence to Sparta, as Pericles himself had shown with sufficient clearness (p. 404), but herself not to provoke a single one of her enemies. When at last the critical hour

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arrived, Athens was to stand before her assailants firm and invincible, with her walls for a shield and her navy for a sword.

The fortification of the city.

As to the circumvallation of Athens, it was still unfinished at the time when Pericles assumed the guidance of the state. Of the double walls first the northern had been built, which was to secure the connexion between city and ports towards the side of Eleusis, and next the Phalerean wall. There now remained between the latter and the wall surrounding the Piræeus a gap, an open piece of shore. Here the Peloponnesians might disembark their troops, advance between the double range of walls, and thus cut off Athens from her ports. In order to attain to completeness, the system of fortification accordingly required a third wall running parallel to the northern, and together with it effecting a perfectly secure connexion between the upper and lower town. The civic assembly was little inclined to grant the moneys necessary for this object. The citizens had grown weary of building walls: the northern wall had, on account of the marshy nature of the soil, occasioned an infinitely larger expenditure than what had been calculated upon; and it was annoying to have to erect a third line of walls, where two, if properly designed, would have been perfectly sufficient; and Pericles had on several occasions to employ the whole force of his eloquence to convince the citizens of the necessity of the construction. But even after the moneys had been granted, the work progressed very slowly, as we find from the mocking verses of Cratinus:

> "He builds a long time
> With frequent speech and diligent; and yet the work hangs fire."

At last, however, the wall was finished under the superintendence of Callicrates, a few years after the Thirty Years' Peace; and a line of wall 550 feet in breadth and five miles in length led to the gate of the Piræeus. Athens was now at last as strongly fortified as Themis-

tocles had desired; she was to all intents and purposes an island-city, perfectly inaccessible to all land-armies, in indestructible connexion with the sea, and thus enabled to employ all her forces, with the exception of the necessary garrison-troops, upon the navy. Athens and the Piræeus now formed a single city, and yet each retained its peculiar character; for as land and sea town, as old and new town, they formed a very decided contrast against one another. On the soil of Athens the traditions of the ancient families still survived in the ancient houses; while in the Piræeus trade, manufactures, and navigation supported a variously mixed population, which was very slightly connected with the earlier national history.

The navy.

In proportion as Pericles opposed the ambitious craving after an extension of the Athenian dominion, he attached extreme importance to preserving what had been already acquired. Attica and the islands were virtually to form one state and one country; he claimed for Athens a kind of territorial rule over the island-sea; foreign ships of war were no more allowed to pass freely through the latter, than foreign armies were to march through the country itself. Therefore the sea was permanently placed under the most careful supervision. In four days an Attic squadron starting from the Piræeus could reach the waters of Rhodes, and in an equally short space of time the Pontus. A fleet of sixty triremes cruised in the Archipelago in order to keep watch over it; serving at the same time as a practising squadron, which by means of a constant change of vessels and crews kept the entire offensive force of Athens in a state of efficiency. In this way Athens became, in a yet higher degree than Sparta, a warlike power ready at any time for active operations. During the peace no leisure was allowed, but the periods of truce were employed with additional activity for reviewing the entire forces of war, for repairing the old vessels and for building new triremes.

In the construction of the ships a constant succes-

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sion of new discoveries took place. While among the ships which took part in the battle of Salamis there were still a number with open decks, and while Themistocles directed his whole attention to the construction of slim and light vessels; in the times of Cimon the triremes were constructed in a more complete, broad, and roomy style, in order to obtain more space for heavy-armed soldiers; the separate parts of the deck were by him connected by means of passages, which facilitated the movements of the soldiers. Pericles invented "iron hands" for the purpose of boarding hostile vessels.

The Council of the Five Hundred was responsible for the condition of the navy and arsenals, and the outgoing body received no wreath of honour, in case any neglect as to the performance of this the most important public duty could be objected against it. The harbours of war at Athens were calculated for four hundred ships. Three hundred was the normal number of the triremes lying ready in the docks, and at any time capable of taking an army of 60,000 out to sea. The citizens whose duty it was as trierarchs to command the particular ships and to keep them in a state of repair were appointed by anticipation; the mobilisation of the fleet was a matter speedily accomplished, and those who had their vessel first ready for sea received a reward. Among the crews were many resident aliens, freedmen, and unfree persons; in fact, the rowing power, and accordingly also the power of victory inherent in the fleet, depended in a very important degree upon the arms of slaves. Yet at the same time a large number of free Athenians constituted the central body of the crews, and thus, notwithstanding the various and unequal mixture it comprehended, the crews of the navy retained the character of an Attic citizen-force.

His policy towards the allies.

As to the treatment of the allies, the sagacity as well as the sense of justice of Pericles led him to object to the imposition of any undue burdens upon them,

and to any measure tending to irritate their feelings. This is clear from the circumstance that immediately after his death the sums paid as tribute were so rapidly raised. The relations of Athens to her allies formed the main support of her entire power, but at the same time were so delicate and difficult to manage, that they required the application of extreme sagacity and caution. In such a matter the true demagogue was forced to display more tact and conscientiousness than the civic body as a whole, whose despotic whims it was his duty to resist, taking care not to leave acts of injustice on the part of the commanders unchastised; the character of the maritime rule of Athens must be one of considerate justice, which would be thus able to claim in return a feeling of filial regard and confidence. CHAP. III.

On the other hand, however, Pericles with perfect firmness upheld the view, that the pretence of independence on the part of the small states should be treated with supreme contempt. There existed, he believed, a right of the stronger, which it is perfectly fair to exercise in politics; just as Aristides had already allowed, that existing public relations ought not to be treated according to the standard of the regulations of private law. Athens, it was to be remembered, had not conquered the islands, but had been forced by events to place herself at the head; and, since she stood at the head, she had the alternative of either ruling with all the energy possible, or herself placing her whole power in jeopardy. Athens was surrounded by insidious enemies, and every secession on the part of an ally of her own would involve an immediate accession to the hostile power; inasmuch as the small states were incapable of forming one body by themselves, and pursuing a policy of their own. A weakly system of concession would amount to a renunciation of the interests of the city, without any advantage resulting at the same time to the islanders. In the Peloponnesian confederation, notwithstanding

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all the boasting of the Spartans, the independence of the confederates was equally a mere empty phrase; and if a greater degree of independence had in fact maintained itself among them, the reason was to be found rather in the weakness of Sparta than in her willing consent. In this matter Athens at all events acted openly and honestly; and it was no other than Pericles who most decisively asserted the principle that Athens was in no way responsible to her allies. The money, he held, belonged to him who received it, and the only obligation of the latter was to furnish the equivalent fixed by treaty. It was no affair of the contributor; whether the receiver gained or lost in the transaction. Thus, it is true, the contributions became tributes, the allies subjects, and the islands and coast-lands provinces; and it was merely one step further in the developement of these relations, that even in internal affairs the states belonging to the alliance were deprived of their sovereignty; that their own magistrates indeed were left to them, but with these only the lower stages of the judicial process; that even their constitutions were altered in accordance with the interests of Athens, while their social life was subjected to a constant supervision by means of special commissaries. Thus, after all, the end had been reached which Themistocles had from the first recognised as inevitable and necessary, and to which he had wished to attain without specious names and without regard to the likes or dislikes of the states.*

The greater and lesser allied states.

However, the relations of Athens to the "Cities," as the allied places were in general shortly termed, differed according to the size and situation of the latter. The lesser islands, conscious of their own insufficiency, were most easily brought to attach themselves to Athens, as to their capital, after having,

* As to Pericles' policy with regard to the allies, see Böckh, *P. E. of A.* vol. ii. pp. 135 f. (*E. Tr.*); as to the superintending magistrates, *ib.* p. 146. According to Theophrast. ap. Plut. *Arist.* c. 25, Aristides also is said to have been involved in a conflict between his ethical principles and political considerations.

from motives of convenience, resigned all thoughts of maintaining a force of war of their own, or having been disarmed in consequence of attempts at resistance. The case was different with the larger islands, which still possessed ships of war of their own. These were equally obliged by treaty to furnish their contingents; but their rights of sovereignty were spared; they were allowed to retain their constitutions; and even permitted, at least in form, to participate after a certain fashion in resolutions of greater importance: care was taken to acknowledge their zeal and publicly honour it, as the Mitylenæans themselves attested when they entered into negotiations with Sparta. These states had themselves other places dependent upon them, and engaged in wars with their neighbours, in which Athens only interfered after she had been called upon by one of the contending parties. Of this, the best-known example is the feud between Samos and Miletus. CHAP. III.

The Samian war. *Ol.* lxxxiv. 4. (B.C. 441-

Since the subjection of Thasos and Ægina, Samos among all the allied islands advanced the loudest claims to independence. For a long time she had been the first naval power in the Archipelago; from which period she still retained her noble harbour of war (p. 145); her inhabitants had, among all the Ionians, most largely contributed to the liberation of the Asiatic islands and coasts; and for this reason the Samians had also been treated with extreme consideration by Athens. Their navy was in the best of conditions, the guidance of their state in the hands of an aristocracy distinguished by a high degree of culture, which endeavoured to keep down democratic movements, to avert any interference on the part of Athens, and firmly to adhere to its own plans of dominion.

The question was as to the possession of Priene, situate opposite Samos, between the territory of Miletus and the possessions of the Samians on the mainland. In the sixth year of the general peace established by Pericles (p. 407), the war broke out.

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The Milesians were unable to maintain themselves in Priene and turned to Athens, where they were supported by the democratic party among the Samians. Athens demanded that the matter might be committed to her decision; and, when this was refused by the Samian government, Pericles immediately put out to sea as Strategus with forty ships, and, without meeting with any important resistance, Attic commissaries established a democratic constitution at Samos. At the same time it was endeavoured to give security to the new order of things by placing fifty men out of the body of the noble families, and an equal number of boys, as hostages in safe custody at Lemnos. But the oligarchical party was by no means discouraged. Their leaders, who had fled from Samos, procured armed assistance from Pissuthnes, the satrap at Sardes; entered into an understanding with Byzantium; contrived to liberate their hostages, and to overpower the Attic garrison of their island at night-time; and hereupon openly declared their defection from Athens.

The situation was extremely critical; it was the commencement of a social war. Combustible materials had everywhere accumulated; the general disinclination of the allies to pay war-taxes had increased more and more during the years of peace; the Persians interfered; the Phœnician fleet was in readiness; and Sparta was invited to give her support. At the head of the oligarchs stood Melissus, the son of Ithagenes, a philosopher of the school of Parmenides, distinguished as a general by his authoritative energy; and they acted with so much boldness that after their restoration to power they immediately resumed the war on the mainland, doubtless in order to obtain a strong position here, and to place themselves in connexion with the inland powers. Nothing short of thorough determination could save the authority of Athens. Accordingly, before the opening of the season of navigation (Ol. lxxiv. 4, B.C. 440), Pericles appeared with sixty ships off Samos. Sixteen of these

he despatched partly into the Carian Sea, to watch the movements of the Phœnician vessels which were to set sail in the spring, partly to Chios and Lesbos in order to summon the allies under arms: this commission he entrusted to his colleague Sophocles, who had gained the tragic prize with his *Antigone* in the previous year. Pericles himself with his remaining ships defeated the fleet of the Samians which came out against him from the mainland, numbering seventy sail; and hereupon, being strengthened by the accession of further forces, blockaded the city of Samos by land and sea.

Capture of Samos and Byzantium. *Ol.* lxxxv. 1. (B.C. 440.)

At this moment the approach of the Phœnicians was announced, and while Pericles hastened to meet them with all the ships he could spare, the besieged seized the opportunity of his absence, broke the blockade under the command of Melissus, and for a fortnight commanded the sea, so as to be able to take in abundant supplies of arms and provisions. But then Pericles returned, defeated Melissus, and renewed the blockade. In the month of July new Strategi arrived, among them Thucydides (probably the son of Melesias, p. 413), Hagnon, Phormio, and others, with ninety freshly-equipped triremes; and Pericles' office of Strategus was exceptionally prolonged. Supported by the siege-machines constructed by his excellent engineer Artemon, he was able to force the Samians to capitulate in the ninth month after the outbreak of the second war. Their triremes were delivered up, and their walls rased; they had to give hostages, pay the costs of the war, alter their constitution according to the wish of the Athenians, and entirely renounce their independence.

Various forms of the subject condition of the allies.

This Samian war, carried on with admirable energy on both sides, led to very far-reaching results. The only state capable of becoming dangerous to Athens had been completely humiliated, and the authority of Pericles extraordinarily strengthened by his short and

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glorious campaign; even the mishap suffered by the Athenians had only proved anew that they could not be successful without him. Byzantium was subjected at the same time, and now Lesbos and Chios remained the only independent states among the allies of Athens. All the rest were equally the subjects of the Athenians, although it was impossible to carry out the condition of dependence upon Athens, and particularly to enforce the jurisdiction of their law-courts, with the same strictness in the cities of the mainland on the farther shore, in Caria and Lycia, as in the islands in the immediate vicinity of Attica. There existed many other differences in the respective positions of the members of the confederation.

It comprised cities which paid their tribute according to the original estimate of Aristides; others which had become subject to tribute by the laws of war and had to pay according to a higher estimate; cities are also mentioned "which had fixed their own rating," *i.e.* which had voluntarily joined the alliance, and accordingly enjoyed a favoured position. Others again were garrisoned by Attic troops, by whose commanders they were restricted even in the administration of their internal affairs. Worst of all, of course, was the case of those states whose soil had been distributed among Attic citizens: here the former inhabitants lived in an oppressive condition of dependence, and were forced to pay tribute to the new lords of the land. These great differences in legal rights contributed to give security to the rule of Athens; a rule the permanency of which was mainly based upon the impossibility of the subject cities, scattered far and near, and moreover separated from one another by the difference of race between their inhabitants and by the jealousy natural among neighbours, never attaining to a common movement against the despotic rule forced upon them. Only one feeling universally prevailed, viz. fear of the constant vicinity of the Athenian fleet of war;

moreover, the forced subjection to the jurisdiction of the Athenian tribunals contributed to make the allies avoid everything which might provoke a feeling of dissatisfaction in the capital, and damage the subjects in the judicial cases which might occur.

The public revenues.

The rise of Athens from the position of the chief town of the little country of Attica to that of the ruling head of the confederation of the maritime cities, necessarily also exercised a pervading influence upon the internal administration of the state, particularly upon the whole of its economy. The efficiency of the citizens was indeed now as before to remain the main capital for the state to fall back upon; the Athenians, far from reposing on their laurels, were to continue by valour and experience in war to be the leading champions of the confederation. But this could not be allowed to remain the sole foundation on which the state rested. Since Athens had become a naval power, money constituted the sinews of the commonwealth; and while in earlier times the administration of the finances had not formed a special branch of the whole political administration, the state, ever since it was called upon to perform greater tasks, found itself obliged to collect and organise all its forces; and the wisdom of its statesmen had now above all to prove itself in their knowledge where to seek the public resources and how to employ them.

Domains.

As in a well-ordered domestic economy the wants of an individual are satisfied out of the fixed revenues of his landed property, so the state also in the first instance supplied its wants out of what it received from its possessions in woods, pasture-tracts, lands, houses, mines, fruit trees, &c.; to which were added the customs. Both kinds of revenues which were not directly received by the state, but farmed out, had been largely increased by the extension of the Athenian power. Of the domains of the states reduced

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to subjection several had been transferred to the immediate possession of the Attic state, as may (*e.g.*) be assumed with regard to the Thracian mines. In the same way the customs had extraordinarily increased with the rise of trade; as well the income derived from imports and exports, falling upon the wholesale, as those of the market dues, falling upon the retail dealer. An equal rise had taken place in those revenues which came in as poll- and trade-tax from the resident aliens, a class which had risen extremely since the time of Themistocles, in numbers and importance. Lastly, the increase of lawsuits had multiplied the court-fees, fines, and pecuniary penalties, which amounted to a very important proportion of the public revenues. With these receipts the state was able to exist without directly throwing itself upon its citizens' capabilities of paying taxes; and accordingly Athens remained for a long time free from all financial difficulties and from all complaints of oppressive taxation. For the indirect taxes paid by those engaged in trade and manufactures were in truth merely a return made to the state for the benefits received from its protection and encouragement of commerce, and could be easily sustained by those liable to them.*

Customs and other duties.

Public services (Liturgics).

However, although the citizens had not as taxpayers to supply the ordinary wants of the state, yet they were at the service of the city as often as the latter needed them for special purposes, with all that they possessed. The occasions for special expenditure offered themselves principally in the public festivals and armaments of war. This expenditure was for the most part supplied immediately from the property of the wealthy citizens, who were chosen out of the ten tribes by their fellow-citizens, and who according to a

* As to the property of the state and the farmers-general, Böckh, *u. s.* vol. ii. p. 12; as to the money to be paid for the protection of the state by the resident aliens, *ib.* p. 44; as to the slave-tax pay, *ib.* p. 47. It is a question whether the stone-quarries were a royalty as well as the mines.

certain rotation undertook the annually recurring, as well as the extraordinary expenses, under the name of public services or *liturgies*.

The former included the practising and maintenance of the choirs which contested the prize with one another in the scenic and musical exhibitions; furthermore, the preparation of the other competitions held on horseback and on foot in the racecourses and palæstræ or on shipboard; again, the performance of the duties of festive envoys to foreign sanctuaries, the management of solemn processions, the entertainment of the fellow-tribesmen on festive occasions, &c. Among the extraordinary *liturgies* must above all be mentioned the *trierarchy*, i. e. the obligation incumbent upon the citizens to make the ships belonging to the state ready for sea, to hire crews, and to undertake sundry incidental expenses and advances of money on behalf of the state.

It is impossible not to recognise the objectionable side of these institutions; for no just distribution of the public burdens can thus be effected. The whole civic body is divided into two halves, the boundary-line between which must always retain something of an arbitrary character—viz. the well-to-do and the rest. No services at all are claimed from the latter, who wish only to draw profit from the state; while some among the former spend the whole of their patrimony from motives of patriotism or vanity. For, especially in services for the war department, the state reckons upon the willingness of its citizens to make sacrifices; and as to the management of the festivals, the people accustoms itself constantly to raise its demands. As long, however, as the prosperity of the citizens flourished, and patriotic feeling strongly prevailed, the state beyond a doubt found the liturgies very advantageous. For the public exchequer was saved very important expenses, precisely such in which an economical management was out of the question. The public services were a

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matter of honour and a subject of emulation. Nor were the liturgies mere pecuniary sacrifices; they involved personal service which demanded efficiency and skill, and therefore advanced the progress of the citizens in all branches of political life in war and peace. In ancient times the *choregi* themselves *led* the chorus, and the trierarchs their ships; they at the same time exercised a control over the persons employed by them, and thus received a compensation in honour and influence for their pecuniary sacrifices.*

The tributes.

Although the whole system of the liturgies only attained to its full developement at the same time as the democracy and the naval dominion, yet it already existed at an earlier period, and its germs are to be found in other states as well as Athens. But entirely new both in Attic and in Greek history in general were the revenues of state received from the tributes of the allies; inasmuch as they were not, as in Peloponnesus, levied according to the necessity of the moment, but regularly paid in year after year, so that they might be calculated as fixed items in the state budget, and applied to the public expenditure.

The entire sphere of the naval dominion was divided into certain districts for purposes of taxation, viz. the Carian, Ionian, Hellespontian, and island districts; and the estimate of each was revised and fixed anew every five years. For this estimate not only the size and population of the particular states served to furnish a standard, but also their special resources; and that impartiality was not observed in this matter is clear from the example of Ægina, the high taxation of which may be regarded as an annual contribution destined gradually to consume the remaining capabilities of taxation, the last remains of the ancient wealth of the island. In general the sums paid as tribute in the ninth month of every Attic year were continually increasing; new members joined the confederation, certain of the older were taxed at a higher

* See Note XXXI. Appendix.

rate; and thus 460 talents (p. 116) had at the time of Pericles changed to 600 talents (£146,250). This sum it was impossible to expend in ordinary times, and the surplus came to form a public treasure.

The public treasure.

The idea of a public treasure is coëval at Athens with the resolution of forming a naval power; for a navy without a treasure is inconceivable. The silver ores of Laurium constituted the original capital of the Attic treasury; but the actual history of the latter commences with the transfer of the exchequer of the confederacy from Delos (p. 387). It is stated that the moneys were entrusted to Pericles; and we may accordingly assume that it was he who not only more than any one else promoted the transfer of the treasure, but also regulated its administration as an Attic state-fund.*

The important influence exercised by him in this respect is evident from the circumstance, that to him particularly was ascribed the principle asserting the political power of Athens to be based on her revenues. In former times the Tyrants had based their power on money, Polycrates as well as Pisistratus, and the despotic rulers of Sicily; but free states, being unable to adopt the means of Tyrants for collecting treasures, were for this very reason incapable of entering upon greater undertakings. Athens was the first Greek state in which the energy of free citizens co-existed with the power of money. To have fully recognised this advantage and put it to the most thorough use is the merit of Pericles; in it he saw the strength of Athens to consist, particularly as against Sparta, which, on account of her want of a public fund, notwithstanding the valour of her citizens and the size of her confederate army, was constantly crippled in her movements; and on critical occasions, when she needed money in order to be able to act, depended on the

* Diod. xii. 38. Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ ἐν Δήλῳ συνηγμένα χρήματα τάλαντα σχεδὸν ὀκτακισχίλια μετήνεγκαν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ παρέδωκαν φυλάττειν Περικλεῖ. Cf. Note XX. Appendix.

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goodwill of her confederates, or upon the colleges of priests at Delphi and Olympia, who were able to make pecuniary advances. This was the reason that Sparta was never able to undertake anything beyond single campaigns, or to pursue any but temporary ends. An independent and definite policy was only possible with the aid of a treasure, and therefore Pericles considered it the most important task of the years of peace to collect a state fund.

The state and temple treasure.

In its management the Athenians followed ancient and popular forms. For the Hellenes felt the necessity of procuring for every public institution a religious sanction, and, considering the particular difficulties with which a wise financial administration has to contend in democratic states, it was doubly necessary to employ all available means in order to organise and regulate the administration of the treasure. From early times the temples were the safest places for depositing moneys; the temple of Athene on the citadel was the religious and political centre of the entire system of state. To Athene, then, the public moneys were entrusted, but not all in the same way. Part were merely placed under her temporary care: this was the moveable treasure, *i.e.* the moneys destined for the current expenditure. But the other part was formally appropriated and consecrated to her, so as to become the property of the goddess, and only capable of being used by way of a loan on interest, and with the obligation of repayment. Of this immoveable treasure certain sums were again marked out as inviolable, and to be reserved for certain clearly defined cases and crises of an extraordinary character, as *e.g.* for that of an attack upon Athens by sea. Lastly, the goddess also owned her particular temple-treasure, which had accumulated from early times out of the landed property of the temple itself, the contributions paid as a matter of duty by certain Attic families (vol. i. p. 368), and the religious fines, tithes, and dedicatory gifts

contributed by single individuals or the state. Thus of the tribute of the allies also, the tithe (although it was merely the tithe of the first monthly rate of each year) was paid to the goddess.

Of course the advantage of the state was the final and supreme point of view in all these institutions; the state received more than it gave in return. The rate of interest paid by the state for the moneys lent was so small (1⅓ per cent.) that it was not worth consideration, and, after all, the interest flowed back into the public exchequer. The public derived from this arrangement this benefit, that all the temple-treasures of the citadel were now subject to the administration of the state; and by the consecration of the property of the state to the goddess, the private property of the latter, at the same time, became public; in other words, a very important concentration of the pecuniary resources at Athens took place. For while in the case of the other temple-treasures still existing in the land it depended on the directors of the temple, *i.e.* on the priests, whether and under what circumstances they would give money to the state, the latter was able, when the condition of affairs demanded it, freely to dispose of the treasure of the goddess of the citadel, without committing any act of violence or offence against the law. She was the protecting deity of the state, with whose honours and interests hers were entirely interwoven; therefore, it was believed, she must in a case of necessity, when the salvation of the state was at stake, be ready to support the latter with all the resources at her command. In ordinary circumstances, on the other hand, the civic body was restricted by the above-mentioned institutions in the employment of the moneys; and these institutions were accordingly more than a mere pretence of religious forms.*

Organisation of the Attic finances

The combination of religion and politics further shows itself in the administration of the treasure. For the men to whom its superintendence was en-

* See Note XXXII. Appendix.

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since Ol. lxxxi. 3. (B.C. 454.)

trusted were annually chosen by lot out of the first class of the census, one out of each of the ten civic tribes; they in their turn chose a president out of their body, and were responsible to the citizens as guardians of the public treasure, but were at the same time regarded as officers of the goddess, and accordingly called "treasurers of the goddess," or "administrators of the sacred moneys (*i.e.* the temple-treasure) of Athene." In the next place, together with the confederate exchequer, the office of the Hellenotamiæ (p. 341) was transferred to Athens, and the moneys in their care continued to exist as a separate fund, even after it had become customary to defray out of the latter sundry expenses unconnected with the protection of the allies, such as the costs of the public works, festivals, and distributions of money. The organisation of the finances was definitely fixed in Ol. lxxxi. 3 (B.C. 454). At this date an annual office was created, according to which the lists of the tributes are dated. This office must have stood at the head of the public system of accounts; and it was no other than that of the "Thirty." Since that time the rule was followed, that in the assembly of the council the sums of tribute due, and most of the remaining revenues of state, were received by the ten receivers-general (*Apodectæ*) whom Clisthenes had instituted in the place of the *Colacretæ* (vol. i. p. 310). From their hands the moneys passed into the various departments of the exchequer, particularly that of the *Hellenotamiæ*, who paid her tithe of them to the goddess of the state, and made the required payments; but instead of, as formerly, retaining the surplus in their care, paid it over to the treasurers of the goddess. Since that date, the whole of the receipts and expenditure stood under the supervision of the college of the "Thirty," a superior chamber of finance, to which all accounts had to be submitted for revision. The appointment of the "Thirty" proves how clearly the state was conscious of the solemn responsibility which it had undertaken

after assuming the management of the confederate treasure, and is, doubtless, more or less closely connected with the transfer of that treasure to Athens.* CHAP. III.

We are assuredly correct in ascribing an important share in these institutions to Pericles, to whom as a statesman the organisation of the financial resources of Athens was a matter of the highest interest. He had thus essentially advanced the public resources, wisely distinguished between their application in ordinary and in extraordinary cases; he had thus effected that the confederate exchequer was indissolubly blended with the civic finances; that the responsibility everywhere insisted upon served as an obstacle against all acts of dishonesty and negligence; and that the publicity of the administration made it possible to display the resources of the city to the Athenians as well as to all foreigners. Of course the multiplicity of resources, the number and variety of funds, as well as of the receiving, paying, and controlling authorities, and the constant agency exercised by simultaneous though diverse considerations of a religious and of a political nature, rendered it an extremely difficult matter, notwithstanding all the existing publicity, to obtain a general view of the entire economy of the state; so that, after all, only a small minority were able to comprehend completely the finances of the state. But this very difficulty raised the importance of such a superintendent of the finances as Pericles, and made him indispensable to the citizens.

Colonial policy of Athens.

With regard to the territorial limits of the alliance, Pericles was equally against any enlargement which might endanger its permanency. He was proportionately anxious to strengthen the acquisitions already made, and to form new connexions advantageous for the state with foreign countries. This purpose was served by the foundation of colonies.

Chalcis, or Eubœa, was the first city where the Athenians had expelled the citizens and appropriated

* See Note XXXIII. Appendix.

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their land,—the first Hellenic town against which the right of the conqueror was enforced with harsh severity (vol. i. p. 395). After the establishment of the confederation, a similar proceeding was adopted in the case of the revolted cities; thus, Naxos, Scyrus, Lemnos, and Imbrus were enslaved. That which in the times of Cimon had been done in consequence of special circumstances, became through Pericles a measure which was repeated from time to time, and gradually came to be regarded, in the same degree as the distributions of money and food, as a measure belonging to the constitutional life of the democracy. Here again the statesmanship of Pericles followed the example of the earlier national history. For as formerly the oligarchs of Chalcis and the Bacchiadæ at Corinth (vol. i. p. 273) had used colonisation as a means of securing the existing constitution, so it was now also intended by the same means to prevent the over-population of the capital, and the evils resulting from it. The citizens themselves derived the greatest possible advantages from this system; and it was accordingly one of the most effective means in the hands of the popular orators towards obtaining the favour of the civic body, when they availed themselves of every opportunity for proposing the despatch of a colonising expedition of Attic citizens. In such cases a resolution was passed to confiscate a territory of specified extent in one of the conquered districts, and to divide it into a certain number of holdings. The citizens of the lower classes were invited to give in their names as intending proprietors; and the lot decided among the candidates for emigration. Those whom the lot favoured were supplied with arms and money by the state; and then, after commissaries sent out in advance had marked out the different holdings and prepared the whole matter in hand, the citizens were conducted into their new community.

The Cleruchies.

The holdings which were bestowed as hereditary property upon the emigrants were called κληροί, *i.e.*

lots of land, and their proprietors *Cleruchi*. They formed a new community according to the model of the mother-city, but continued to remain Athenian citizens, and as such furnished special contingents to the Attic army as Lemnians, Imbrians, &c. They were left the choice between managing their lands themselves or farming them out to the former proprietors: in the latter case they were free to dwell at Athens, and there consume their rents. Doubtless, in case they had become masters of a property formerly liable to tribute, they also paid a proportionate tax to the state, which accordingly derived sundry advantages from the arrangement. For without any sacrifice of revenue or citizens, it converted the poor of the capital into well-to-do landed proprietors, and at the same time effected that the colonies of citizens situate in well-chosen and important points of the Archipelago acted as garrisons, which for the sake of their own interests were obliged to defend these places, now their new homes, against all attacks. Hence no undertakings could have been conceived more advantageous for the domestic and foreign policy, for the power and prosperity of Athens; they were conquests free from danger, made in time of peace, for which the desired occasion could easily be found. On the other hand, of all the measures which her omnipotence enabled Athens to carry out by sea, these *Cleruchies* excited the deepest feelings of hatred against Athens, because they were always accompanied by forcible and harsh proceedings, by the destruction or enslaving of Hellenic population. Yet even in this matter, as long as Pericles ruled the state, moderation and caution were observed. Universal satisfaction was particularly expressed at his expedition to the Thracian Chersonnesus, whither he conducted in person, in Ol. lxxxii. 1 (B.C. 452), one thousand citizens, in order thus to establish the most intimate connexion between that important peninsula and Athens. The occupation of Histiæa (p. 407) was justified by the

Ol. lxxxii. 1. (B.C. 452.)

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revolt of that city. In Eubœa two-thirds of the island gradually became the property of Attic citizens. Five hundred Attic citizens were similarly conducted to Naxos, and two hundred and fifty to Andros.*

Colonisation of barbaric places.

From these *Cleruchies*, in a more limited sense, must be distinguished the settlements effected on the territory of barbaric tribes. Among these Thrace was pre-eminently the country which, on account of its wealth of timber and metals, repeatedly attracted Attic schemes of conquest. No difficulties were allowed to act as obstacles against repeated advances into the interior of Thrace, and to this day there remains preserved to us on an ancient stone document the decree of the people, in consequence of which the town of Brea, in the land of the Bisaltæ, situate in the well-watered hilly country to the north of Chalcidice (vol. i. p. 430) and to the south of the Strymon, was converted into the seat of an Attic civic community. In the Pontus, also, Pericles displayed the full splendour and strength of the Attic navy; offered all manner of support to the Hellenic cities there; extended the limits of the confederation as far as the coasts of the Crimea; and settled 600 Athenians at Sinope, after the overthrow of Timesilaus, the lands of the expelled Tyrant being made over to them.

National Hellenic colonies under the leadership of Athens.

After this fashion he provided for the poorer citizens. But in this matter also his ideas went far beyond the private interests of the city and immediate profit. Athens was to conduct colonisation, not only on her own behalf, but on that of all Greece, and at the head of national undertakings to prove herself the first naval power of the Hellenes. For this purpose an excellent opportunity offered in Italy. Here Sybaris had lain in ruins for more than half a century, when the families of the ancient city which had found a refuge in her colonies, Scidrus and Laus, resolved to

* See Andocides, *De Pace*, § 3. As to Chalcis, see Meier, *Allg. Litt. Ztg.* 1836, p. 432. As to Eretria, Hesychius, v. Ἐρετριέων κατάλογος. As to the different kinds of Cleruchies, Schömann, *Philol.* i. 722.

return home and build up a new Sybaris on the ancient site. They ardently entered upon this enterprise, but were prevented by their ancient enemies, the Crotoniates (vol. i. p. 443), from carrying it out. They accordingly looked out for assistance from abroad, and sent envoys to Sparta. The reason that they did not in the first instance apply to the most powerful naval state, was probably their dislike against Athens as a democracy; moreover, it was natural that the foreign maritime cities apprehended danger to their independence from any connexion with Athens. However, their proposals were rejected at Sparta, and the envoys repaired to Athens.

Foundation of Thurii. *Ol.* lxxxiv. 1. (B.C. 443.)

Here the matter was taken up with great zeal, for after the calamity of Coronea a new well-omened undertaking was doubly welcome. Ancient oracles which spoke of the rule of the Athenians in Italy were brought forward, the ancient prosperity of Sybaris placed a tempting picture before the eyes of the Athenians, and the excitement of high expectations seized upon the whole community. The most ardent amidst the general ardour was Lampon, the busy prophet and interpreter of oracles. But it was Pericles himself who, as a statesman, took the whole management of the matter into his hands, and even before the defection of Eubœa, Ol. lxxxiii. 3 (B.C. 446), the first Attic ships crossed to Italy under the command of Lampon. Very influential personages took part in the expedition, nor is it improbable that Pericles contrived to take advantage of this opportunity to remove several of his opponents, as *e.g.* Thucydides, in an honourable manner. But before the walls and houses of the new Sybaris were built, the entire foundation again ran the risk of dissolution. The Sybarite families claimed for themselves a number of offices of honour, the right of precedence at the sacrifices, and the lands in the neighbourhood of the city; they wished to form an urban patriciate, and refused to concede an equality of civic franchise to the new settlers. A

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resort to arms ensued; the Sybarites were expelled, and for the most part slain.

The Athenians were now masters of the situation; and at the instigation of Pericles (who, now that the peace had been concluded, must have been particularly anxious to rid the city of some of its turbulent inhabitants) a re-foundation of the Italic city ensued towards the end of Ol. lxxxiv. 1, in the spring of the year 443 B.C. For this purpose a spot was chosen in the territory of the ancient Sybarites, where an abundant spring of water, Thuria by name, had from earlier times continued to flow as a cistern-well. From this spring the city received the name of Thurii. This time the choice of settlers was not restricted to Attic citizens; for Pericles was anxious to realise a national Hellenic undertaking, and to attempt to reconcile, outside the boundaries of Greece proper, the harsh differences of race. Under the guidance of Hippodamus of Miletus (p. 426), Thurii was constructed on the model of the Piræeus, as a great city with regular streets: four main streets cut the city lengthwise and four breadthwise; while the citizens were divided according to the elements of which they were composed into ten tribes; three of which, Arcas, Elea, Achaïs, comprehended the Peloponnesian settlers; Athenaïs, Bœotia, and Amphictyonis, those from Central Greece; Doris and Ias the Asiatics; Eubœis and Nesiotis the islanders. Hereupon a democratic constitution was introduced, regard being had to the laws of Charondas; treaties were concluded with the neighbouring places; and the rapid rise of the young city attracted a multitude of eminent men from all quarters. Thus immediately after the foundation arrived Empedocles; and Protagoras, who also actively contributed to the legislation of Thurii; Tisias, the great teacher of Sicilian oratory; Lysias, the son of Cephalus of Athens; Herodotus of Halicarnassus, and others. A rich but well-ordered commonwealth formed itself; the fertility of the district favoured

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the growth of the prosperity of the colony, whose success formed a splendid contribution to the fame of Athens and of her great statesman.*

Amphipolis.

Finally, the series of these foundations of cities accomplished under the superintendence of Pericles, included that of Amphipolis on the Strymon. For a long time after the mishaps suffered near Drabescus (p. 363), all attempts had been relinquished at penetrating up the valley of the Strymon into the country of the Edonians, a nation of warriors and freemen. The possession of the mouth of the river was for the time considered sufficient, but not until Ol. lxxxv. 4 (B.C. 437) was the war resumed. A steep elevation was fortified, round which the Strymon flows in a semicircle after issuing forth from a long line of lake. Hagnon, the son of Nicias, was the leader of the settlers who on this elevation built the city of Amphipolis; it commanded the road crossing the country from the direction of Macedonia, and forming the connecting line with the Hellespont. Amphipolis was so advantageously situated as to need a cross wall on the east side alone, touching the river at either end. This settlement again was composed of Greek population of various descent, but Athens was the leading state, and drew considerable revenues from the colony.

Ol. lxxxv. 4. (B.C. 437.)

Industrial intercourse at Athens.

These measures of Pericles' administration extended the influence of Athens in constantly widening limits, and most effectively advanced the prosperity of the city. Prosperity, leisure, and enjoyment of life were to become a common possession of all the citizens at Athens, and this purpose was accomplished as far as is possible in human communities. The resources, peculiar to the country, of corn, wine, oil, honey, salt, &c. had continued to increase in productiveness as they had been sagaciously worked; the foundries flourished to a high degree; and the marble quarries of the Athenian hills were put to the full use of

* See Note XXXIV. Appendix.

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which they were capable, since both means and inclinations existed for applying them to public works. The uncommonly dense and constantly increasing population of the country made a vast activity necessary, in order to discover a constant succession of new sources of gain; and the Athenians attained to their prosperity, which soon became a subject of envy to all other states, by dint of their industry and freedom from prejudice. In opposition to the pretentious indolence which preferred want and poverty to occupations supposed to be unworthy of a free Hellene, idleness was accounted a vice at Athens; and whoever spurned the labour which could relieve his poverty, dishonoured himself in the eyes of his fellow-citizens. Industrial activity appeared the less unseemly, inasmuch as purely mechanical labour was left in the hands of slaves; it was the task of the citizens to superintend this labour, to perfect it by their own inventiveness, to raise its value by mercantile shrewdness, and thus to extend the limits of trade in such a measure as to give it a pre-eminence above mere handicrafts. Altogether, democracy tended to remove one-sided class-prejudices, to bring to honour every honest mode of making money, and thus by means of an open competition to favour the prosperous progress of the different trades.

This progress was encouraged by the free intercourse which Athens enjoyed with the world at large. In direct contrast with Sparta, Athens was an open, accessible, and sociable city. Hospitality, which from ancient times was one of the most enviable traits in the Attic national character, and one of the most productive germs of the greatness of Attica, had become a principle of public life which Themistocles and Pericles applied with extraordinary success. For, since Athens had stepped forward out of her modest position, she became a centre of the Greek world; and whoever considered himself an adept in his art was aware that no place existed where he would meet with

a readier recognition and with ampler gains. Thus the greatest variety of branches of manufacturing industry was introduced into Athens, where through the emulous rivalry of natives and strangers, and the interchange of the most recent inventions, all trades rose to a perfection never reached before. Athens became the school of manufacturers and artisans, the central market for all manufactures of a higher kind, and at Athens the prices were fixed and the standard of taste established. Whoever was unacquainted with Athens, was unacquainted with Greece; while he who had learnt to know the former, could only with difficulty accustom himself to life elsewhere.

Supervision of the lists of Attic citizens.

But the attractions of the city were, on the other hand, not unaccompanied by dangers. The ancients entertained a natural dislike for cities of excessive size; they liked the numbers of the citizens to be moderate and admit of easy survey; and accordingly naturally endeavoured to place bounds to the influx of population. Moreover, owing to an idea deeply founded in the ancient family-like character of ancient cities, nothing was feared so much as an introduction of foreign blood among the civic community, because this necessarily occasioned an infraction of domesticity and of family rites, and a change in the manners and habits of life. These were ancient and, as many thought, obsolete points of view; but they were by no means forgotten, or devoid of importance. On the contrary; for where the civic body governs the state, it is doubly imperative not to allow the ancient trunk to be overgrown with foreign parasites. It was accordingly necessary, without disadvantageously restricting free intercourse and interchange, to endeavour to guard the Attic community from gradual decomposition and degeneration. This Pericles fully recognised, and therefore, at a time when every one was only anxious to push forward and to remove all restrictions still in existence, he returned to the earlier and stricter legislation of Athens.

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Ancient regulation on the subject of the civic franchise.

Here an ancient law existed, according to which only those could claim the full civic franchise who were natives of Attica both on the father's and mother's side; for no marriages were accounted valid except those concluded between the son and the daughter of citizens. This statute had not remained in force.

For although certain external distinctions existed between the inhabitants of the full-, and those of the half-blood (p. 210), yet with reference to the main rights of the citizens no severe control was exercised. In the times of the Persian troubles, when every accession of strength was welcome, there had been least occasion for maintaining such a distinction;—and what would have become of Athens, had it been attempted to exclude all of the half-blood, whose number would have included a Themistocles and a Cimon? But the state of things changed in the subsequent years of peace, when Athens received a constant influx of foreign population, both male and female, attracted by the entertainments and festivals, as well as by the profitable market of the city. The multitude of the Ionian *hetœræ* constantly added to the frequency of irregular connexions between the sexes, and at the same time, as democracy developed itself and the fame of the city increased, the civic franchise came more and more to constitute a lucrative privilege. It included the enjoyment of the presents made by foreign princes to the civic body; as, *e.g.*, already the Philhellenic King Amasis (vol. i. p. 426) had offered a homage of this kind to the Attic Demos.

Pericles' law on the subject.

Ol. lxxxiii. 4. (B.C. 445-4.)

In these times it accordingly became desirable to exercise a more careful control over the grant of the civic franchise, and it was Pericles who revived the severity of the ancient legislation. This was one of the first measures carried through by him after he had attained to the height of his influence; and, since the vigour and resolution of his proceedings are particularly praised on this very occasion, it may be thence concluded what excitement he had to meet and what

obstructions and hostile insinuations to oppose. It was a measure favourable to the interests of the people, inasmuch as it ridded the genuine citizens of those who illegally participated in the advantages of the community; but it was also at the same time a measure in the sense of the aristocratic system of state; for it offered a substitute for the activity which the Areopagus had in earlier times displayed in the supervision of the lists of citizens, and in the removal of useless, usurping, or dangerous elements.

The law proposed by Pericles could not be immediately carried out with unbending severity. But the principle had now been established anew; and when hereupon in a year of scarcity, when food was extremely dear (Ol. lxxxiii. 4; B.C. 445-4), a present of 40,000 bushels of corn arrived from Egypt for distribution among the citizens, the latter were by their own interests induced vigorously to support the endeavour to give effect to the law of Pericles. The number of those who shared in the distribution was above 14,000: 4,760 were struck off the list. These must be understood to have included not only those of the half-blood, but also non-citizens, strangers of all kinds who had contrived to have their names entered on the list of citizens. Many of them had to quit the country, others remained as resident aliens under the protection of the state; while yet others, who had sought a legal remedy against their exclusion, were, if they lost their suit, sold into slavery.*

Manufactures and trade.

After the dangers accruing to the state from an unlimited influx of strangers had been removed, Athens could the less unreservedly take advantage of the salutary results which followed for all departments of her public life. In consequence of the flourishing condition of the Attic trades, the articles produced by them were sought everywhere, as *e.g.* the Attic metal and leather wares, lamps, utensils of all kinds, particularly of earthenware. The fair of earthenware goods held on

* See Note XXXV. Appendix.

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the second day of the Anthesteria was one of the largest annual fairs in Greece. This article of Attic produce spread over all the coasts of the Mediterranean, and was even carried by Phœnician traders up the Nile as far as Æthiopia. Thus the manufactures led to an uncommonly profitable export trade, which brought considerable quantities of money to Athens, and multiplied her citizens' sources of gain.

The Ionic race was by nature so decidedly well qualified for maritime trade, that in this less than any other branch of commerce was artificial encouragement by favour on the part of the state required. Very much was, however, done for trade in the Athens of Pericles; for while the aristocratic constitutions were unfavourable to commerce, it formed part of the intentions of democracy to induce as many as possible to take part in maritime trade, because this more than anything else increased the popular wealth, gave independence to the citizens, animated industrial activity, encouraged the naval power, and lowered the influence of the noble landed proprietors. Therefore trade became an object of statesmanship, particularly in Athens, where the tranquillity of the country and the power of the city were most intimately connected with the prosperity of commerce.

The commercial policy of Athens.

The Athenians were never slow to recognise the insecurity of the foundations on which their naval dominion rested; and, because they with anxious care kept in view the many resources which the state needed in order to be at any time equal to the accomplishment of its mission, they believed themselves to be prevented from according to Attic trade the freedom of movement which would have otherwise most beneficially affected its developement. Accordingly, it was absolutely prohibited to export what belonged to the indispensable wants of the state in peace and war, as corn, timber, pitch, flax, &c. Other articles, as *e. g.* oil, might only be exported when sufficient provision had been made for the satisfaction of the demands of the state.

The most oppressive regulations were those in reference to the corn trade, because there existed no state in the world so dependent as Athens upon foreign corn. Every interruption of the importation of this article, every rise of its price in the market, and even every fear of such a rise, was an event which endangered public tranquillity and order. Cheap bread was the first interest of the citizens, and one of the principal objects of legislation and administration (p. 445). In this matter therefore it was right to leave least room to chance, and in no other article was speculation fettered by more restrictions than in this. The Attic shipowners and merchants who imported corn from the Black Sea were not permitted to select the ports where they might expect to sell their shipments at the highest price, but were obliged to bring all the corn to Athens. The retail dealers, again, were not allowed to buy in as they liked, but only a fixed number of bushels at a time; and might only sell the bushel at one obol above the price at which they had bought in. They were accordingly, in a certain sense, mere agents, to whom the state permitted only a fixed percentage as their profit. Special officers (p. 328) took care that the laws regulating the corn trade were observed; and every transgression was punished as an act of high treason. For the merchant was, like all the other members of the community, above all to be a citizen of the state, and to fulfil his duties as such; he committed a crime if he wished to take advantage of the difficulties of the state and to speculate for his own gain upon the wants of his fellow-citizens.

Equally strong measures were applied in order to concentrate maritime dealings in the Piræeus, which was by its natural situation far from suitable for a centre of trade. The Athenians were, therefore, only allowed to lend money on ships which were destined to return with a lading to Athens; for no Attic fortune was to benefit a foreign place of trade. The allies also

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were forced to conclude treaties obliging them to export certain articles to no other port than the Piræeus, and in no other than particular vessels assigned for the purpose by the state. A law of this kind existed, *e. g.*, with reference to the ruddle of the island of Ceos, which was used as an important colouring substance in shipbuilding, as well as in other manufactures. Thus no measures of force were shunned in order to make the Piræeus, where alone among all the harbours of Attica goods might be warehoused, a staple place for the whole of Greece.

Though political considerations in many ways obstructed the free progress of trade, on the other hand everything was done to encourage it. And the centralisation of commerce possessed this advantage, that now the interests of the *one* staple place might be provided for on a proportionately grander scale. The navy of the state rendered the paths of the sea secure; and under the protection of that navy the merchantmen were as safe in the waters of Lycia and in the Pontus as on the coasts of Attica. The interests of the shipowners were protected by favouring the capital sums invested in mercantile undertakings, which were not liable to contribute in the case of war-taxes, as well as by the establishment of mercantile tribunals, which sat in the winter months, and whose duty it was rapidly to settle the cases brought before them, in order that the merchants might as far as possible be spared loss of time and profit (an institution borrowed from the Æginetans, who taught the Athenians many other aids to commerce). The duties were small (two per cent. *ad valorem*). The care with which the state ensured both good money and true measures facilitated traffic and made it secure; the same was the tendency of the strict laws of debt at Athens, because they served to strengthen credit. Every kind of civil industry enjoyed honour and protection. Money changed hands in a brisk and profitable manner, and capitals were advantageously invested in manufactures and bottomry,

merchants' and bankers' business, mines, rented houses, &c. No man thought his social rank high enough to prevent him from mixing himself up in trade.

The interests of the merchants when in foreign places were watched over by the agents resident there (*proxeni*), who by virtue of their honorary office (being connected by rites of hospitality with the state) were of service to its citizens. But even without this protection the citizen of Athens was secured against any injury by the power of the state, which took up his cause; while the fear of the Attic courts contributed to prevent any one from daring, within the sphere of their jurisdiction, to lay hands upon Attic property. As the prosperity of Athens increased, the city became more and more the centre of the wide seas, and her port the principal market, into which streamed the wares of all the lands on the coast: where the slaves, the fish and the skins of the Black Sea, the timber of Thrace, the fruit of Eubœa, the grapes of Rhodes, the wines of the islands, the carpets of Miletus, the ores of Cyprus, the frankincense of Syria, the dates of Phœnicia, the papyrus of Egypt, the silphium of Cyrene, the delicacies of Sicily, the fine shoe-work of Sicyon,—in short, all articles of foreign as well as native produce,—were exposed for sale.

Intellectual life at Athens.

But the varied intercourse which Athens enjoyed during the years of peace under Pericles brought with it advantages of quite another kind from those referring to trade and manufactures; for the higher tendencies of the mind came more and more to find their centre at Athens: nor was any man more anxious to encourage these than Pericles. Accordingly, he personally invited men whom he hoped to see exercise important effects upon the animation of scientific studies, and upon the encouragement of a higher tone in society. Thus it was on his invitation that the Syracusan Cephalus settled in Athens: a man of property and consideration, whose ancestors had distinguished themselves in the struggle

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against the Tyrants of his native city, and in whose house a higher class of studies were eagerly cultivated. For thirty years he dwelt in the Piræeus, and both in his manhood and in his old age was the type of piety and wisdom. He was devoted with his whole heart to the Periclean state, to which he belonged as a resident alien, so that he accounted it an honour to undertake costly services on its behalf; and his hospitable house was a meeting-place of men of the most distinguished intellectual gifts.*

But even without a special summons, all the more eminent men of the age felt themselves attracted to Athens. For the less that facilities had as yet been developed for literary intercommunication, the greater was the importance of personal intercourse and interchange of ideas by word of mouth; particularly in a time such as that in question, when in consequence of the great events in the national history, the minds of men had in every direction been excited to their utmost activity; while a path was opened to a love of study which refused anywhere to rest content with traditionary usage and habit. As formerly (vol. i. p. 294) all new discoveries made by the inventive mind of the Hellenes in art and science had been brought to Sparta, so they were now brought to Athens. But this difference existed between the two cases: that Athens became not only a meeting-place of eminent men, but also their home; and that the ideas of science found here not only a market where they were readily acknowledged and spread, but also a soil in which they took root; for the people of Athens was an attentive public, both possessed by the desire of learning and gifted with the capacity of lively comprehension.

Earliest historical writings:

Pisistratus and the Pisistratidæ had in this respect done the preliminary work. The collection of writings which Athens owed to them, offered advantages for literary and historical enquiry, such as were not to be found elsewhere. It cannot, therefore, be a matter of

* See Note XXXVI. Appendix.

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surprise, when we find enquiring students taking up their abode at Athens even before the time of Pericles. One of these was Pherecydes of Leros, who found a second home at Athens: a man who lived entirely in the traditions of the pre-historic ages, and whose object it was to arrange in order the mass of myths concerning the gods and heroes. This attempt afforded him an opportunity to make special mention in his writings of the ancestors of those families who in his own time gained new glory in the wars of liberation; and thus he descended out of the mists of the pre-historic and Heroic age, to the splendid deeds of the present, from the son of the Homeric Ajax to the victor of Marathon.

Pherecydes and the Logographi.

It was very natural that the earlier historians, to whom Pherecydes belonged by his whole method and manner of writing, confined their attention to the circle of myths and antiquities connected with single families, single cities and districts. These were the Ionic *logographi*, so called because they noted down in easy narrative the remarkable facts they had collected and obtained by enquiry as to the foundation of the cities, the myths of the pre-historic age, and the natural, political, and social condition of different countries. Thus, as early as the middle of the sixth century, Cadmus of Miletus, and Acusilaus of Argos, wrote about the antiquities of their homes.*

Of far greater depth and breadth were the enquiries of Hecatæus (p. 176), whose days fell in times of movement and agitation, and who was consequently unable to content himself with a harmless repetition of pre-historic myths. He attempted to extend the sphere of the study of countries and nations over all the coasts of the neighbouring seas; he effected improvements in the Milesian maps (pp. 42, 178); and, above all, enquired into the institutions of the Egyptian

Hecatæus.

* As to Cadmus, Pherecydes, and Hecatæus as the founders of historical literature, see Strabo, page 18. Pherecydes treats of the race of Ajax: *Frag. Hist. Gr.* i. p. 73.

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nation. His was a scientific mind of high vigour and momentous agency; and he was followed by others of his countrymen, *e.g.* by Charon of Lampsacus. But though the germs of historical enquiry which developed themselves in Ionia were both manifold and productive, yet Ionia itself afforded no materials for history proper; there existed in it no city engaged in the enduring and heroic pursuit of great aims. Still less could there be any question of a general national history, as long as the Hellenes in their many civic communities on either shore of the sea, dwelt side by side, without possessing any interests in common. Not until the forces of the Hellenic nationality had united against the Persians under the leadership of one state, such as Athens was, could the stand-point be obtained from which alone it was possible to compose a history of the Hellenes as one nation; and to have been the first who clearly comprehended this stand-point is the immortal merit of Herodotus of Halicarnassus, who thus raised the mythological and geographical notes of the *logographi* to the art of historical composition.

Herodotus.

The place of his birth was itself pre-eminently adapted to give freedom and width to his views; for here, on the border of Caria, in the midst of a brisk commercial intercourse, he could from his earliest youth acquaint himself with Barbaric and Hellenic life, with Doric and Ionic ways, with civic liberty and despotism, with military and naval dominion—in short, with all the contrasts which filled the world. Halicarnassus was a colony of Trœzene (vol. i. p. 129), an Ionic city; and although the settlement had been effected in the name of the Doric race and of a Doric state, and although Halicarnassus had for a long time belonged to the Dorian Hexapolis in Asia Minor, it had yet retained its Ionic character, and the inscriptions of the city attest that in the age of Herodotus the Ionic dialect and Ionic writing were at that time in official use there. Thus the family of Herodotus himself was

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of Ionic descent; it was one of the most highly esteemed citizen-families, and branches of it also existed on Chios. Herodotus grew up in reverential awe of the Persian empire, to which his native city had belonged for two generations at the date of his birth (B.C. 490—480). But Halicarnassus was at the same time the centre of a state of its own, which united the surrounding coast with the island group of Cos, Nisyrus and Calymna lying opposite; which possessed a separate fleet, and had attained to a great height of prosperity under Carian princes, particularly under the high-souled and sagacious Artemisia (p. 285). But even under the Carian dynasty the social life of the Hellenic community at Halicarnassus had retained sufficient vigour and mobility to become an excellent school of political experience for the youthful Herodotus.*

This poetical impulse and knowledge of the national mythology and poetry of the Hellenes he owed to his uncle Panyasis, who was pre-eminently familiar with the lore of divine omens and oracles, being at the same time a poet of originality of mind; for he succeeded in reviving the Ionic epos without remaining a feeble imitator of Homer; he treated with comprehensive learning the circle of the myths of Heracles, in whom to a greater degree than in any of the other Heroes were united associations of the Hellenic and non-Hellenic world. Thus it was through Panyasis that Herodotus was taught to carry his enquiring glance beyond special and local circumstances into a wider sphere; and the extraordinary events which announced the precipitous downfall of the Persian world-empire, directed the meditations of the young man to an enquiry into the laws which

* The view (expressed already in the first edition of this work) of the Ionism of Herodotus having been innate, and not acquired, has been since confirmed by the recently discovered inscriptions of Halicarnassus. See the author's review of Newton's *Hist. of Discoveries at Halic.* in the *Götting. Gel. Anz.* 1862, page 1149. Cf. Sauppe in *Nachr. d. Kön. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1863, page 327.

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determine the rise and the decline of states. True to the pious faith of his fathers, Herodotus saw the gods ruling over Hellenes and Barbarians, and in the oracles heard the warnings of divine voices. From the Barbarians the ways of the gods are hidden, but they unveil themselves to the clear glance of the Hellenes; and Herodotus himself devoted his life—a life of many and indefatigable wanderings (which led him from Cyrene to Agbatana, from Elephantine to the Cimmerian Bosporus), but at the same time a life full of internal calm—to a search after a general view of the varied multiplicity of human affairs which might enable him to recognise the invisible connexion pervading the course of their developement.

It was not, however, the lot of Herodotus merely to look upon the world as an intelligent spectator, for he was himself personally implicated in the struggles of his times. Artemisia, whom he mentions with evident respect, and her son Pisindelis, were succeeded in the government of Halicarnassus by her grandson Lygdamis. Under this prince a reaction took place, supported by Persia, against the national movement which had since the day of Mycale shown itself in most of the Greek towns on the coast of Asia Minor. The leaders of the popular party, among them Panyasis and Herodotus, were expelled. In Samos they found a new home, where the young Herodotus became acquainted with the higher phases of Greek civilization, formed his style, and fortified his political principles.

Some time afterwards the exiles returned to their native city with their adherents (in the year 455, or thereabouts); they were reinstated in their lands by a solemn treaty, and by means of concessions on the part of the Tyrants a settlement was effected between the parties, so that Lygdamis at all events retained part of the power in his hands. But afterwards he was expelled, and Halicarnassus as a free city joined the Attic maritime confederation, on the list of whose

members she appears since the year Ol. lxxiii. 2 (B.C. 447).* CHAP. III.

But, even after the liberation of his native city, Herodotus felt himself injured and restricted as an inhabitant of it by personal intrigues and the workings of party-spirit; and since already during his stay at Samos, the connecting link between Athens and Ionia (pp. 318, 388), he had come to recognise the importance of the city which was the centre of all Greek history, an irresistible attraction drew him to Athens, away from the East whose strength was broken, away from Ionia which was unable to help itself by its own powers, to the city of Pericles and to the civic community upon which the future of the entire nation depended.

Being as a diligent traveller and student able to compare with one another different countries and periods, he was doubly convinced that the deeds of the Athenians in real grandeur and promise of important results surpassed all others, and that their impress was stamped upon contemporary history. And when at Athens he found society not in a state of wild ferment, such as prevailed in the republics of Ionia, but combining a full developement of civil liberty with the maintenance of a well-ordered political system, and calmly and securely led by an eminent mind, he could not but recognise in that mind the leading spirit of the times.

Herodotus has himself indicated the high feelings of veneration entertained by him towards Pericles, in a passage where mention is made of the vision of Agariste, who shortly before her delivery dreamt that she was bringing forth a lion. In such-like fashion the gods announce the birth of men whose names are to be great in history, in order to accredit them in their

* For the history of Halicarnassus in the times of Herodotus with reference to the recently discovered document of a treaty between Halicarnassus, Salmacis, and Lygdamis, see Sauppe, *ubi supra;* and Kirchhoff, *Studien zur Gesch. des Gr. Alph.* 1863, page 120 (*Abh. der Berl. Akad.*).

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uncommon mission. While Herodotus otherwise maintains the reserve belonging to the epic calm of his work, a review of the latter clearly proves that the conviction pervading it as to the high fame of Athens, as of the city which saved all Hellas, sprang from his own meditations on contemporary history; and the narrative of Herodotus therefore in every aspect amounts to the highest glorification of the Athenians, whose deeds made him a historian and in fact gave birth to the art of historical writing among the Hellenes in general. Doubtless personal relations existed between Herodotus and Pericles: the former took a personal part in one of the favourite undertakings of the latter, the foundation of Thurii; and it was probably Pericles who a short time previously, at the Panathenæa of the year, Ol. lxxxiii. 3 (B.C. 446), caused Herodotus to read in public a portion of his work. The civic assembly voted him a reward of ten talents. It was felt that of all kinds of glories the surest pledge of endurance underlay that which needed no other herald than a historian who loyally adhered to truth.*

Historical chronology.

The new epoch of Greek historical writing did not, however, put an end to its more ancient form, that of the *logographi*. The latter continue to arrange in order the traditions of the pre-historic age, as Pherecydes had done, and now further attempted to introduce a chronological order into the earliest history. This purpose was served by the pedigrees of single princely houses, and advantage was in particular taken of the family-registers of the Attic Nelidæ, which had probably been drawn up at Athens in the times of the Pisistratidæ, and were on tolerably satisfactory grounds taken back as far as the commencement of the ninth century B.C. or thereabouts. While Herodotus takes as the basis of his chronological reckoning

* Herodotus' public reading at Athens is attested by Eusebius, *Chron.* p. 169, to have taken place in Ol. lxxxiii. 4 (according to Scaliger, lxxxiii. 3), and Plutarch, *De Malign. Herod.* c. 26. The reward bestowed upon him on the motion of Anytus is a doubtful question. Cf. Schöll in *Philol.* x. p. 417; Bahr, *Herod.* iv. p. 416.

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the family-registers of Eastern dynasties, and particularly that of the Lydian Heraclidæ (p. 99),—in accordance with which he fixes the date of the Greek Heracles and of the war of Troy,—his contemporary, the learned Hellanicus of Lesbos, first set up a chronological system of the pre-historic ages founded upon Greek sources. Among the latter the lists of the Attic kings appeared to him to be distinguished by their order and usefulness. In these the entire period of the rule of the Nelidæ up to the first election of archons for periods of ten years (Ol. vii. 1; B.C. 752), *i. e.* from Alcmæon back to Melanthus, was calculated as 397 years. The arrival of the Nelidæ, as being occasioned by the invasion of the Heraclidæ, served to furnish a date for this event; and thus the year 1149 B.C. was obtained, and the fall of Troy placed two generations back, in the year 1209 B.C. Thus at the same time a synchronistic chronology was established for the Greek pre-historic age; and though this could not be effected without tradition suffering in many ways from the zeal of systematisation (the lists of the mythic kings and heroes being arbitrarily shortened or lengthened for the sake of obtaining the desired synchronism of dates), yet these efforts offered another instance of the desire of commanding the mass of materials, and of introducing a rational order into it; and thus in this respect also Athens became a power in the field of literature. The chronological system of Hellanicus, however, failed to be generally accepted by the nations; Peloponnesian methods of calculation, differing from it, were formed, which the Alexandrine chronologists subsequently saw fit to adopt as the basis of their labours.*

Hellanicus.

Yet a third kind of historical observation and narrative developed itself under the influence of Athens, viz. contemporary history, properly so called. For while Herodotus gives an account of the events which

Authors of contemporary history:

* Cf. J. Brandis, *De temporum Græcorum antiquissimorum rationibus.* Bonn, 1857, p. 10.

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in the rapid progress of the age had soon become things of the past, and with chaste reserve avoids any more detailed description of his contemporaries and friends, or a degradation of the ideal character of his work by giving it a party-colouring; other talented authors who were his contemporaries, and who also came over from Ionia, with Ionic vivacity sought their subjects in the midst of the active life of the present, and noted down their impressions of the most eminent personages of the day.

Ion.

The foremost writer among these is Ion of Chios, a genuine Ionian, possessed of a many-sided, ingenious and versatile mind; one of the first who wrote both in verse and in prose; who contested the tragic prize with the Athenian masters, and also narrated the ancient history of his native country. But he was most of all at home in taking an immediate part in the varied social life and in intercourse with the leading men of the different cities of Greece. For we meet him even at Sparta, singing a song of praise at the royal table in honour of the King of Procles' race (probably Archidamus, the successor of Leotychides; p. 364 f.). But of all towns he preferred Athens as a residence, and this before the time of Herodotus' arrival. At Athens he was in personal intercourse with Æschylus, and enjoyed the society of Cimon, whom he heard sing ditties at the banquet, and in the freedom of social ease narrate anecdotes of his campaigns: *e.g.* how after the fall of Byzantium and Sestos (p. 333) he had divided the spoil into two halves, and left the allies their choice between the Persian prisoners or the ornaments of the latter, which he had placed together in a heap. The allies, as Cimon had anticipated, had eagerly chosen the half which tempted their eyes, and secretly laughed at the simple-minded general who would find it impossible to put to any use the Persians, folk unfit for labour. Afterwards, however, the Athenians had derived a superabundant profit from the large sums paid as ransom, which sufficed to defray

the expenses of the fleet for a period of four months, besides leaving a large surplus for the public treasury.

With Pericles too Ion was brought into contact, and heard how, after the Samian War, the former, in proud self-consciousness, drew a comparison between himself and Agamemnon, who had lain ten years before Ilium, while he, Pericles, had succeeded in overcoming in a few months the powerful island-state. But the most charming description which Ion has left us is that of his meeting with Sophocles on Chios (p. 473), at the banquet which Hermesileus, the Attic agent there, gave to the celebrated Athenian. In it he represents the poet as defending the verses of Phrynichus against a pedantic and conceited schoolmaster; and next, by a cunning stratagem, snatching a kiss from a beautiful cupbearer in attendance upon the guests, and endeavouring to disprove Pericles' habitual assertion, that he, Sophocles, was a good poet but a bad general.

Traits of this kind, which permit us a glance at the daily life of the great men of Athens, and which charmingly supplement the meagre accounts left to us, Ion noted down in his historical memoirs, not disdaining to describe even the external appearance of the characters appearing in them, *e.g.* the figure and flowing locks of Cimon, and the severity and aristocratic haughtiness of Pericles' bearing. True, Ion was no impartial observer, and his tendency was probably from the first in favour of aristocracy. For this reason he was an adherent of Cimon, and after the overthrow of the party of the latter retired for some time from Athens (p. 414).

Stesimbrotus.

Similar were the relations to contemporary history of Stesimbrotus, who, as a citizen of Thasos, may also be reckoned among the Ionians (p. 197). He was mostly resident in Athens up to the time of the Peloponnesian War, occupying himself according to the fashion of the Sophists with teaching, and at the same time pursuing Homeric studies and writing biographies of Themistocles, Thucydides, and Pericles; the last of whom,

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as well as Themistocles, he treated with evident disfavour, while reverencing the son of Melesias and Cimon as the representatives of the good old times. His writings were accordingly, even more than those of Ion, dictated by party spirit; and, however great may have been the merits of either in following the impulse given by the important events of the present, and founding a biographical and memoir-like form of contemporary history, yet this branch of Greek historical composition was from the first degraded by party spirit, and by a hankering after the scandal floating about the town.*

Philosophy.

Among all the tendencies of intellectual enquiry, philosophy was that in which Pericles took the highest personal interest. But he was on his guard against the one-sidedness into which the Pythagoreans had fallen; he desired no sort of political philosophy, no association ambitious to secure for its principles of life and thought a deciding influence, and to form an aristocratic body in the state. Pericles himself became a follower of no one system, because he felt the great difficulty of reconciling any such subordination with his calling as a statesman. He cherished intercourse with Anaxagoras, Zeno, Damon, and Protagoras as the highest pleasure of his life, and contributed his share to enable all those of his citizens who were animated by intellectual cravings of a higher kind, to take advantage of the newly-opened sources of knowledge and wisdom, without having to seek them out in scattered and remote places.

But yet other and more important results were obtained. Not only was philosophical culture rendered more easy of access to the Athenians, and, through them, to the rest of the Hellenes, but the developement of knowledge itself was directed into new courses: the pursuit of enquiries was removed out of the local connexion of the school, and freed itself from the

* This memoir-like contemporary history (ἡ τῶν πράξεων καὶ βίων ἡλικιῶτις ἱστορία) is described by Plutarch, *Pericl.* c. 13.

restrictions of the latter. A wide variety of tendencies met in order mutually to supplement, correct, and advance one another; a consciousness was arrived at of the elements in national culture common to all, as well as of its internal contrasts; the whole variety of popular mental life for the first time became clearly comprehensible at Athens; nor was it the result of an artificial arrangement or of an accidental chance, but rather the necessary consequence of the whole course of the nation's history: that Athens became the seat of philosophy, the hearth of all higher knowledge. Here were assembled at the same time the thinkers of Ionia, the pupils of Parmenides and of Empedocles, and the Sophists; the desire of knowledge became continually stronger, and a constant succession of new subjects was submitted to scientific contemplation.

The Sophists.

Doubtless this desire of knowledge led to many deviations from the true paths; and the impulse towards the extension and generalisation of knowledge injuriously affected the serious and solid pursuit of science. The object of Sophistry, as stated above, was, by means of a constant exercise in the forms of dialectics and rhetoric, to make superfluous the special knowledge of particular sciences which is based upon thorough study and experience. Sophistry was the expression of the spirit of the times, which wished to reform all things in accordance with reason, and, in the conceit of superior knowledge, put aside traditionary views and usages as old-fashioned, and thus necessarily led to a vain and superficial polyhistory, such as was most fully represented in the person of Hippias of Elis, the younger contemporary of Protagoras. On everything, both great and small, this class of Sophists had an opinion ready at hand; and the deeper and vital questions of philosophy fell entirely into the background before a pseudo-wisdom which made up for emptiness of meaning by readiness of tongue.

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Scientific research: Protagoras.

On the other hand, it is impossible to deny that Sophistry also contained many fruitful germs of genuine science, the developement of which benefited the Athens of Pericles. Thus, Protagoras first commenced the study of language, by instituting a theoretical enquiry into its grammatical construction, into the forms of words and the phrases of speech, by teaching their proper use, and by founding a scientific terminology.

Prodicus.

The later Sophists, Prodicus of Ceos and Hippias, both of whom were also actively engaged as statesmen at Athens, continued these studies. Prodicus combined dialectical with rhetorical exercises, especially teaching accurate distinction between words of cognate meaning. Such studies could not but exercise very perceptible and suggestive effects in wide circles; they quickened the perception of correctness in language, contributed to its more delicate developement, both as a spoken and a written vehicle of thought, and led to a closer study of ancient poetry, and to literary and philological enquiries, as the labours of Stesimbrotus on Homer prove.

Hippias.

But in the department of political history also Hippias established entirely new points of view; he began to compare with one another the institutions of the different states; and thus laid the foundation of political science, based upon historical criticism. As Hippodamus (p. 426) had made the planning of streets and the building of towns subjects of science, so agriculture and horticulture were now also treated theoretically; and the experiences of medicine, which had up to that time, in the sanctuaries of Asclepias, remained a secret of priestly families, were made public. The Asclepiade Hippocrates of Cos, who was also in Athens at the time of Pericles, and became an honorary citizen, may be regarded as the founder of a medical literature. He was an enquirer and teacher in the grandest style, and though he is called a pupil of the Sophists, yet he was furthest removed from the Sophistic spirit of the age by his great moral qualities also, particularly by his lofty unselfishness.

Hippocrates.

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Among the natural sciences astronomy was in a pre-eminent degree domesticated at Athens. Thales of Miletus (p. 111) offers a proof of the knowledge to which already the Ionian Greeks had attained in this department, both by independent enquiry and by taking advantage of the wisdom of the East. His contemporary Pherecydes was engaged at Syrus in observing the solstice. He is said, for this purpose, to have made use of a rocky cave on the island, known among the ancients under the name of the Sun-cave. Elsewhere, rocky hills, by cutting the horizon in sharp lines, greatly facilitate the observation of the extreme northern and southern point of the sun's rising. This service the lofty Mount Lepetymnus performed for the Methymnæans on Lesbos, and Mount Ida for the inhabitants of Tenedos; on the former, Matricetas, and on the latter, Cleostratus, instituted astronomical enquiries. Athens now proved herself in this respect also a place marked out by nature for the farther developement of the sciences. For Mount Lycabettus, rising in a bold line to the north-east of the city, admirably served the same purposes as Lepetymnus and Ida. For on the longest day the sun is seen to rise straight out of the angle formed by the sharp edges of Lycabettus, with the outlines of the Brilessus hills in its rear. This advantageous peculiarity of the Attic land was perceived and turned to good account when a certain Phaïnus settled as a resident alien at Athens, transplanting thither the astronomical observations which had begun to be made in Asia Minor, and with the aid of Mount Lycabettus attaining to a more accurate knowledge of the solstice.

Astronomy:

Meton.

Since his time Athens was also a home of astronomy, and in the period of Pericles observations in this science were carried on with extreme zeal, particularly by Meton, one of the best-known personages in the Athens of those days. Meton shared the Sophistic culture of the city: he was a geometrical and architectural artist after the fashion of Hippo-

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damus, and constructed great waterworks which made his name famous. But his proper fame he owes to astronomy, in which he followed in the wake of the studies of Phaïnus. In order to attain to a scientific determination of the annual course of the sun, he invented an instrument which he termed *Heliotropion*. It must have resembled a sun-dial, being a plate with a vertical hand, which cast the shortest shadow at noon on the longest day, and was thus employed to indicate the day of the summer-solstice. This *Heliotropion* was set up in Athens Ol. lxxxvi. 4 (B. C. 433). Meton was assisted in his labours by Euctemon and Philippus; and the grand scale on which they carried on their efforts is attested by the statement that expeditions were sent from Athens to take observations even on the Cyclades, and in Macedonia and Thrace. This school also produced very important contributions to the improvement of the Attic calendar.

The year of Meton.

Hitherto the Athenians had only had the *Octaëteris* (vol. i. p. 341), *i.e.* the period of eight years, of which three were composed of thirteen months, in order thus to make the lunar years correspond to the solar. But as eight such solar years still amount to something short of 99 lunar months, this cycle was insufficient for its purpose; new expedients were needed, and as these were always adopted on purely empirical grounds, a constant succession of confusions occurred. Too small a number of intercalary days had been inserted; and it therefore frequently happened in the time of Pericles, that the commencements of the months fell earlier than the new moon. Meton and his associates calculated that a more correct adjustment might be obtained within a cycle of 6,940 days. These made up 235 months, which formed a cycle of 19 years; and this was the so-called *Great Year*, or *Year of Meton*. With the invention of this intercalary cycle is connected the construction of a new calendar. Meton constructed a table in which the

years were arranged according to his cycle, and at the same time the days of the solstice and the equinoxes were entered, as well as the rising and setting of stars which were of importance for the business of the citizens, or were considered to exercise an influence upon the state of the weather. This calendar was acknowledged and admired as marking an important progress in science; but it was not immediately officially introduced. The ancient *Octaëteris* was regarded as an institution sanctified by religion, and all the citizens whose sentiments had remained conservative opposed the innovation. Moreover, it could be said with truth, that the calendar ought to prove its value by experience, before the Attic year was changed in accordance with it, and before the usage of all Hellas was abandoned. Besides, the time at which the new calendar was put forward was towards the conclusion of the years of peace, the era of extreme agitation and passionate revulsion against Pericles' leadership in the state. However greatly Pericles may have wished that Athens might precede all other states, with her new year as in other matters, yet, notwithstanding all its confusion, the old calendar remained in public use, and Athens for the present merely reaped the fame of a scientific discovery, whose merits gradually met with acknowledgment in the most various quarters of Greece and Italy.*

Oratory.

Of all branches of literature none is more closely interwoven with political life than oratory. The developement of this art was only possible among the Ionians; for in no other tribe but this existed the inborn desire to give vivacious utterance to thought, and a lively sense for fluency, copiousness, and brilliancy of speech. Nor is there any doubt but that in

* The erection of the *Heliotropion* on the Pnyx proves that the calculations of Meton had been adopted by the more educated Athenians, and particularly by Pericles (Göttling, *De Metonis Heliotropio*, 1861, p. 10). As to the date of the official introduction of the calendar, see E. Müller, *Zeitschr. f. d. Alterthumsw.* 1857, page 556; and in Pauly's *Realencyclopädie der Alterthumsw.* vol. i. 1864, page 1044 f.

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the towns of Ionia that form of oratory was first developed, which proposes to itself as its task, to guide the sentiments and the resolutions of the civic body. It was, however, in Athens that Greek oratory progressed to its true perfection. In Athens public oratory developed itself with constitutional life; to which it seemed so necessarily to belong, that already the state of Theseus was conceived of as founded with the aid of the Goddess of Persuasion (vol. i. p. 341). But, for this very reason, eloquence was not the subject of a particular art, to be regarded as separate from public life, but rather the simple expression of practical experience and statesmanlike wisdom; for in those times the Athenians were still unable to imagine a popular leader, who was not at the same time a statesman, proved in peace and war, and who had not by his public life established a claim upon the citizens' attention to his words. And as oratory became more and more a power commanding the entire range of political life, the language itself reached an entirely new degree of developement at Athens. It was not, however, a mongrel language, composed of the influx of the dialects of different countries, which formed itself; nor an artificial language, which inevitably becomes weak and frosty. What grew up in Attica was a new idiom, in which the vigour innate in the Hellenic language first attained to its full height, by giving a living expression to Attic culture.

Cultivation of speech and writing.

The Greek language had gone through a many-sided developement in Ionia. Besides the Homeric and the post-Homeric epos and the hymns, the treasures of elegiac and iambic poetry had been clothed in the Ionic dialect. Writing, too, had been first put to a more comprehensive use in Ionia—in the first place in connexion with native art; for the epic songs which had been composed, and which had become the property of the nation, without the aid of writing, were, by the help of the latter, spread, fixed in their form, and continued. Reading and writing were for the first time

introduced in the schools of the Rhapsodes: for this reason, Homer himself was conceived of as a teacher of reading; and when the later epic poets who exercised their art after the commencement of the Olympiads in Ionia,—Arctinus, Lesches, and others,—linked to the two great heroic poems their own (in which they endeavoured to supplement, enlarge, and connect the contents of the Iliad and Odyssey), the poets were already familiar with the use of writing; and the Rhapsodic art by this means became more scientific in its character. Subsequently, again in Ionia, arose together with the use of writing an entirely new form of literary communication, intended not to fill a listening crowd with enthusiasm, but to spread the results of scientific enquiry in wider circles. The philosophers and logographers wrote in unfettered prose for the benefit of the public; and in the sixth century the love of writing and reading spread itself with extreme rapidity over the whole of Ionia; where Samos in particular constituted a school for the cultivation of written composition. However, the art of prose composition took some time to form itself. Writing either wholly retained the character of common conversation, of the popular style (such as was particularly developed in the Fables), or followed in the wake of poetry; which was very natural, inasmuch as all instruction had so long proceeded from the poets, all knowledge been communicated in the form of poems, and every recitation designed to delight and inspirit an assembled crowd. Even in Herodotus this poetical character of composition still undeniably prevails: his narrative flows along with the easy breadth of an epic recitation; his sentences only follow one another in a loose connexion; and after the fashion of a poet he delights to see the people assembled around him, in order to respond with enjoyment and enthusiasm to the charms of his narrative. Nor did the language of philosophical writing display any design of reproducing the developement of ideas in a

The developement of prose composition.

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clear and precise form. The teaching of Heraclitus wore the character of Sybilline proverbs; he affected a poetic diction of metaphors, rather suggestive than didactic; and, irrespectively of the difficulty of the ideas, the build of the sentences also so greatly lacked clearness and perspicuity, that it was impossible to perceive with any certainty their syntactical construction.

The Attic dialect.

Hence, notwithstanding the wealth of the literature of the Ionians, a Greek prose had not as yet been artistically developed: this progress in language remained reserved for Athens. The language still retained enough of the freshness and vigour of youth to be capable of receiving the peculiar impress of the Attic mind, which in language, as in dress and manners and customs of life, manifests itself in a superior simplicity and plainness of form. In Attica a dialect was spoken, which occupied a certain intermediate position between the dialects of the different tribes of Greece, and was therefore pre-eminently adapted for becoming the organ by which all educated Hellenes could make themselves understood by one another. For, although akin to the Ionic, the Attic dialect had yet preserved itself free from many Ionic peculiarities which had developed themselves on the islands and coasts on the further side of the sea, —particularly of the tendency towards a resolution of vowel-sounds; while, on the other hand, the Attic had retained many characteristics agreeing with the dialects of the mainland of Europe,—especially the full use of the long *α* sound.*

This dialect became the organ in which the mental idiosyncrasy of the Athenians found its expression. Their sense of energy abhorred every kind of waste

* The agreement between the Attic and the Æolic is also evident in the *τ* in *τήμερον, τῆτες, γλῶττα*, &c. *ττ* is Æolico-Attic; and similarly *τθ*. In reference to the *ᾱ* and *η* Attic occupies a mean position; and it was precisely to the language of the common people that formulæ like *ὦ Δάματερ* belonged. The tendency to shorter and terser forms is peculiar to the Attic.

of time; their sense of measure abhorred bombast and redundancy; and their clear intelligence everything partaking of obscurity or vagueness: it was their habit in all things to advance directly and resolutely to the goal. Accordingly, their dialect is characterised by a greater terseness and brevity of expression, and by a superior seriousness, manliness, and vigour of language. The words are made to express their meaning with greater precision; and, instead of aiming at easy perceptibility by the senses, care is taken to prevent the ideas, as such, from being disregarded. Instead of simply allowing one idea to succeed the other, the different forms in which one idea gives rise to the next were arranged in rational order and enlarged, and expressed by a more delicate method of syntax; and by this means powers were developed in the Greek language which had never made their appearance in the earlier stage of language, in the stage of poetry and song. Thus already the philosophical lectures of Anaxagoras, who composed his works at Athens, were distinguished from those of his predecessors by greater clearness of construction, although even with him the habit prevailed of stringing together a number of short sentences.

Attic oratory.

During the progress of this developement Attic oratory formed itself, and upon the lips of Pericles became a power which ruled the state. This was a time in which, at Athens, reading and writing were already universally spread—a fact which essentially contributed to convert oratory into a subject of study: for originally the art of speech was regarded as nothing farther than the natural expression of intelligence obtained by experience; and this intelligence was believed to be created, and the right words supplied, by the same mental force. The habit of writing out speeches encouraged the artistic developement of oratory; the orators became accustomed to make greater demands upon themselves; the external form of speech acquired a superior terseness of expression, and displayed

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stronger proofs of previous design; and larger series of ideas were comprehended in one period of sentences. Pericles himself was careful never to speak *extempore* on subjects of importance. Yet, notwithstanding, the speeches of the orators, instead of assuming the character of literary works, remained designed entirely for the practical purpose of the present, and calculated upon their personal effect in the mouth of the speaker. The writing down was merely a preliminary exercise of the speech, the full vigour of which was crippled by no collateral aims and weakened by no rhetorical attempt at pleasing.*

Oratory of advocates.

Besides the eloquence which was rooted in the character and experience of the matured statesman, and which led the popular assembly by the means at the command of a superior culture, the oratory of advocates developed itself at Athens—a kind which was from the first practised in stricter obedience to scholastic rules, and more perfectly resembled a literary labour, since a class of persons formed itself who, instead of appearing themselves as orators before the juries, wrote out for others speeches to be delivered in the course of their case. Their personality accordingly fell into the background, private, and not public matters, being in question; and this species of oratory, henceforth, also entered into far closer relations with Sophistry (because the object of the latter was to give to the mind the versatility requisite for the skilful treatment of every subject, and to discover in every subject the greatest variety of interesting matter).

Antiphon.

The first remarkable name in this department is that of Antiphon of Rhamnus, the son of Sophilus, slightly junior to Pericles, a man of mighty vigour of mind, so that the people feared the impression made upon them by his speeches, whose ingenuity, wit, and abundance of ideas overpowered his hearers. Antiphon

* Suidas, s. v. Περικλῆς. Pericles is contrasted to the σχεδιάζοντες, such as Demosthenes (Schafer, *Leben des Dem.* i. 304); but the contrast refers principally to speeches at the bar, where caution and certain limits of length were especially imposed.

formed a school of oratory, which exercised a deeply-felt influence upon the developement of Attic prose. From this school proceeded, among others, Thucydides, who carried the art of oratory into a new field, that of the narrative of contemporary history; and if we compare with one another the two historians Herodotus and Thucydides (who as to the date of their respective generations were not more than thirty years, or thereabouts, removed from one another), the rapid and vigorous progress made by Greek prose at Athens becomes clearly apparent. The great contrast, however, between the two historians (a contrast which makes Thucydides himself unjust against his predecessor) is mainly due to the fact that, in the composition of his narrative, Herodotus had before his eyes a listening crowd, while Thucydides from the first despised the applause of the general public; he only wrote in order to be read, and this by men who devoted their serious attention to public affairs, and who were capable of following with collected mind and manly vigour of thought his terse historical narrative. But notwithstanding all the contrast observable between them, one thing was common to both Herodotus and Thucydides, viz. their relations with Pericles. Both were acquainted with him and did homage to his greatness; both found in the spiritual atmosphere of his actions the centre of their own lives. For Herodotus the Athens of Pericles constituted the terminating point of a developement which he admiringly followed; for Thucydides, on the other hand, the starting-point to which he attaches the thread of his history. Thucydides was for a long time a contemporary of Pericles; and it was a penetrating enquiry into the personality and public activity of the latter in the course of which Thucydides matured into a historian of statesmanlike judgment: from Pericles he learnt to seek the safety of states, not in the forms of their constitution, but in the spirit which animates and guides a commonwealth. Thucydides was also a pupil

Thucydides.

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of Anaxagoras, whose culture and character were akin to those of Pericles; and belonged to the younger generation upon which Pericles founded his hopes; moreover, he was probably thought worthy of enjoying personal intercourse with the great statesman. To continue to devote his efforts to carry on the great work of Pericles' life was not permitted to Thucydides; but he became the faithful witness of the statesman's labours, and was qualified above all other contemporaries to expound his ideas, which the historian had fully and perfectly comprehended, and thus also to leave to posterity a living picture of the Periclean eloquence.*

Panegyrics at public funerals.

A special kind of public oratory, which attained to importance in the Athens of Pericles, were the speeches in honour of the citizens fallen in battle. By a special law, derived from the age of Cimon, such a speech in memory of the dead accompanied their burial; and it was the custom honourably to distinguish and recognise the public services of the most proved popular speaker of the day, by commissioning him to speak the funeral speech in the name of the community. Wordy and gaudy panegyrics were not in accordance with the spirit of the age of Pericles. It seemed more seemly in such moments, when the minds of the citizens were deeply moved by heavy losses, to encourage them, to convert their lamentations into gratitude, and their grief into pride and joy, by bringing before their eyes the high interests of public life, for which their fellow-citizens had given up their lives, and by inciting the hearers to a like readiness for sacrifice.

Lyric poetry.

As in the great age of the Persian wars, whose results were matured by the Periclean years of peace, all the arts and sciences most vigorously flourished, it may seem astonishing that the art which in general most closely attaches itself to spiritual movements, viz. the lyric art, failed to make equal progress, and

* See Note XXXVII. Appendix.

that Wars of Liberation, whose character was at once so national and so just, and which after arduous dangers and tribulations ended in so unexpected a success, should have found no fuller echo in popular songs. Various circumstances contribute to explain this. The home of Æolic lyric poetry (vol. i. p. 219; vol. ii. p. 81) was further removed from the movement of the times; and the ardour which had there, a century before the Persian wars, produced the poems of Alcæus and Sappho, had grown cold. Choral lyric poetry (p. 82), on the other hand, was too intimately connected with the earlier condition of the people, too much accustomed to let its art serve the wealthy and illustrious families whose splendour belonged to the past rather than to the present, to be able to adapt itself with ease to the new era. The Theban singer (p. 257), in particular, was so closely attached to his native city (which reaped nothing but disgrace and misfortune from the Wars of Liberation), and to Delphi (which from the first viewed the desires for liberation with disfavour), to appreciate with perfect impartiality the greatness of the new era; although he was large-hearted and liberal enough not to refuse to the victorious city of the Athenians his admiration and the praise of his song. The Thebans inflicted a penalty upon Pindar, because he had called Athens "the pillar of Hellas;" but the Athenians rewarded him for it, justly recognising in the tribute a triumph of the good cause. In Sparta nothing of importance was done to celebrate the Wars of Liberation. The constitution permitted no freedom of mental movement, and supplied too small a measure of comfort and satisfaction to allow poetry to find a favourable soil here. The Spartans left the praise of their Leonidas to the Ionian poet Simonides, who was perfectly justified in celebrating the glory, not of Sparta, but of the Hellenes, as the "house-mate" of the fallen heroes of Thermopylæ. But Simonides, who with his whole heart attached himself to victorious

Simonides.

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Athens, offered homage to the glory of the city in all forms of poetry and with all the resources at the command of his richly-gifted mind. With unequalled and masterly skill, he perpetuated, on monuments of every kind, in short and pregnant epigrams, the events of the Wars of Liberation; honoured the fallen in elegies; and celebrated in grand cantatas, performed by festive choirs, the days of the battles of Artemisium and Salamis. He was in the full sense of the word a poet of his times. The state contributed its part to the encouragement of art; and by means of festivals in memory of the victories offered the poets splendid opportunities of proving their powers (prizes being given for the best works). As Simonides assisted Themistocles (p. 257), so the genius of Ion (p. 506) stood by the side of Cimon, and was also active for his posthumous fame. And Pericles, both from natural inclination and from considerations of statesmanship, did everything in his power to encourage the art of song at Athens. For this purpose he introduced the music competitions at the Panathenæa, in order to call forth a public contest between all the talents. He was himself regulator and legislator in this department; and with a thorough knowledge of art determined the manner in which the singers and cither-players were to display their art at the festival. But if, notwithstanding, even in the Athens of Pericles, lyric poetry failed to obtain the importance which it might have been expected to reach; and if Simonides found no successors of note; the cause is mainly due to the circumstance that another more powerful and copious kind of poetry developed itself, into which lyric poetry was admitted, so that as a separate species it lost its importance.

Ion.

Origin of the Attic drama.

Of all the forms of lyric poetry none had met with so distinguished and successful a cultivation at Athens as the Dithyrambus, the song in honour of the god Dionysus, the giver of fruit and wine. Lasus of Hermione, the teacher of Pindar, had developed lyric

Lasus and the Dithyramb.

song, originally merely an instrument of the enthusiastic worship of nature, into artistically constructed choral song, which he had by means of boldness and variety of rhythm, as well as by the rippling music of the flute, invested with such splendour as to obscure the fame of Arion, as the inventor of this form of poetry (vol. i. p. 280). Lasus introduced his new art from Peloponnesus into the court of the Pisistratidæ and Athens (vol. i. p. 372). It was an age in which everything connected with the worship of Dionysus was received with especial favour: the Dithyrambus was introduced at the state festivals; the wealthy citizens emulated one another in the equipment and training of Bacchic festive choirs, which, composed of fifty members, executed their circular dances round the burning altar of Dionysus; and no expense was shunned to obtain new songs for the Attic Dionysus from the foremost masters of song, such as Pindar and Simonides. The latter was able to boast that he had achieved no less than fifty-six Dithyrambic victories at Athens. Nor was the progress of the art confined to this stage of its development. The Dithyrambus not only comprehended the rhythms of all previous species of lyric poetry, but also contained elements which urged an advance beyond the limits of lyric composition. For as the festive choirs regarded the god, whose glories they celebrated, as near at hand and personally present, and in enthusiastic ardour as it were themselves witnessed all his fortunes,—the persecutions which he had suffered as well as the victories which he had obtained,—it was extremely natural, not only to assume the events forming the basis of the songs to be generally known, but also to recall their memory by narrative recitation, or to place them before the eyes of the spectators by means of representation. The leaders of the Dithyrambic chorus interrupted the songs by such narrative recitation; a combination being thus effected of epos and lyric song. The epic recitation

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was enlivened by action and appropriate dress; the god himself appeared, suffering or triumphant, before the spectators, his part being performed by the leader of the chorus; the festive dancers assumed the character of satyrs (the companions of the god and the sharers of his fortunes); and thus the combination of the older forms of poetry resulted in the creation of a new form, the richest and most perfect of all—viz. the drama.

Gradual development of the drama.

The drama had the advantage of all the discoveries of the earlier masters, of artistic rhythms and musical metres, of splendid and vigorous forms of poetical expression, of dance and of song. In the drama all these elements were combined and animated by the mimic art, wherein the whole human person becomes the organ of artistic recitation; and were warmed by the fire of the joyous festival of Bacchus. But the sphere of representation was confined within very narrow limits, as long as the mode of worship restricted the choirs to the actual objects of the Bacchic religion. It was accordingly a step in advance, when for the fortunes of Dionysus were substituted other subjects, capable of arousing a vivid sympathy. Thus, after the dramatic form of art had been once discovered, an abundance of materials and subjects flowed in; all the whole treasures of the Homeric and post-Homeric epos were unlocked; the national Heroes were brought before the people in a novel fashion, and a wide field of activity was opened to dramatic art. This step in advance had also been already taken outside the limits of Attica: in Sicyon the Hero Adrastus had before the age of Clisthenes taken the place of Dionysus; and in Corinth also a similar extension of the limits of the Dithyrambic branch of art had possibly already been effected. But in Attica alone these beginnings of the drama were fully developed; and, as the epos reflects the Heroic age of the Hellenes, as after the decline of the epos lyric poetry for a period of three centuries accom-

panies the struggles and progress of the nation in politics and religion, so in the drama we see that form of poetry, of which the developement commences as soon as Athens becomes the centre of Hellenic history. Originating in insignificant beginnings in the age of Solon, it grew strong and vigorous as the city became great; and accompanied the history of the latter through all the successive stages of its course.

Tragedy. Thespis.

Thespis was the founder of Attic Tragedy. He had introduced a preliminary system of order into the alternation of *recitative* and song, into the business of the actor, and into the management of dress and stage. Solon was said to have disliked the art of Thespis, regarding as dangerous the violent excitement of feelings by means of fantastic representation: the Tyrants, on the other hand, encouraged this new popular diversion; it suited their policy that the poor should be entertained at the expense of the rich; the competition of rival tragic choirs was introduced; and the stage near the black poplar on the market-place became a centre of the festive merry-makings in Attica.

Pratinas and Chœrilus.

The Satyr-drama separated from tragedy.

The restoration of liberty added a loftier enthusiasm to the celebration of all the civic festivals; and Pratinas and Chœrilus systematised the artistic form of tragedy; the Satyr-drama, which had up to that time been connected with it, being separated from it as a distinct species. Pratinas, who came to Athens from Phlius, gave to the Satyr-drama its distinct form, in which the original character of the Bacchic merry-makings, the rustic elements, the merry rout of the satyrs, with their extravagant dances and rude jests, were retained. Thus these popular elements also were preserved for poetic literature, without the farther progress of tragedy being disturbed or obstructed by them.

Further progress of tragedy.

The period when Athens first stood forth as a great power, sending her triremes across the seas in support of the Ionian revolt, also constituted an epoch in the

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history of Attic tragedy. About the same time the scaffoldings of wood fell to pieces, from which the Athenians had looked upon the festive plays of Pratinas, Chœrilus, Phrynichus, and the youthful Æschylus; and the drama had already attained to such importance at Athens, that a theatre was now constructed on a grand and costly scale. Within the large space sacred to Dionysus a fixed stage of stone was built, on the southern declivity of the citadel; and the seats of the spectators, ascending in a semicircle, cut into the rock of the Acropolis, so that the spectators commanded a view of the Ilissus on their left, and the harbour on their right. Contemporaneously tragedy was steadily perfected as to its internal construction. It found a constantly increasing multitude of subjects; dance and music were developed in a greater variety of forms; and female parts added to the male. Down to the Persian wars, however, the lyrical element continued to prevail: Phrynichus, the most eminent predecessor of Æschylus, was still chiefly admired on account of his charming choral songs. With the great drama of the War of Liberation, and not before, the drama of the stage also began to unfold the fulness of its vital powers; nor was the newly-acquired energy, which pervaded Attic life in every direction, anywhere more clearly manifested than in the dramatic art.

Æschylus and the organisation of tragedy.

To give expression in tragic art to the mighty movement of the age was the mission of Æschylus, the son of Euphorion of Eleusis, the scion of an ancient house, through which he was connected with the most venerable sanctuary of the country. For this reason he calls himself a pupil of Demeter, and thus bears witness to the fact that the solemn services of the temple of Eleusis did not fail to exercise a lasting influence upon him. As a boy he beheld the overthrow of the Tyrants, who were particularly hateful to the families of the old country nobility; in his prime, when 35 years of age, he fought at the

battle of Marathon: and on his tombstone he has himself avowed his pride, not in his tragedies, but in his share in the glories of that day; although he was there only one citizen among the rest, while as a poet he occupied a position of unapproached eminence among all his contemporaries. For it was he whose creative power founded Attic tragedy, so as to cause all previous works to resemble mere imperfect attempts. He introduced a second actor; and thus made the stage-play an actual drama; for until this innovation a lively alternation of discourse had been impossible. The use of the dialogue (for which the Athenians were peculiarly qualified by their love of conversation, their practical experience of public speaking, and the quickness of their intellects,) was now extended to the stage; and thus an entirely novel interest made to attach itself to the latter. At the same time a distinction was drawn between leading and secondary characters; the choral songs became shorter; the action stood forth more vigorously; and the characters were more sharply defined. The stage-parts were supplied with the aid of superior external equipment; while the stage itself was decorated in a grander style as an ideal scene by Agatharchus, who cultivated scene-painting as a special branch of art. The aid of mechanical skill was employed in ingenious contrivances for lifting the shades of the departed from the depths below, and causing the gods to hover in the air; and the whole performance obtained a simultaneous accession of solemn dignity, of intellectual meaning, and of moral significance. While previous poets had made it their main object to express and call forth emotional phases in the minds of the spectators, it was now resolved to represent the myths of antiquity in the fulness and grandeur of their general connexion. For this purpose the Attic drama was organised as follows. Three tragedies were combined so as to form one whole, and so that in them, according to a pervading plan, the action of the mythic story might be completely repre-

The Tetralogy of the Attic drama.

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sented in the successive stages of its developement; and upon these three tragedies, which formed a corresponding number of acts of one great drama, a Satyr-drama followed as afterpiece. The latter, after the moving solemnity of the tragedies, in conclusion conducted the spectators back to the popular sphere of the Dionysian festival, where they recovered their innocent holiday gaiety, among the diverting adventures of which the satyrs were the witnesses or the heroes. Such was the *Tetralogy* of the Attic drama, the organisation of which, although not independently invented by Æschylus, was yet by him brought to artistic perfection. The dithyrambic chorus was divided into groups of twelve (afterwards fifteen) persons, in order that thus a special chorus might exist for each part of the tetralogy, sympathetically to accompany the action of the stage characters, and to fill up the pauses with dance and song.

The poetry of Æschylus.

The Hellenes were accustomed to regard the poets as their teachers, nor could any poet find favour who deemed his only qualifications to consist in talent, fancy, and artistic skill. Besides these qualifications were required a thorough inner culture of heart and intellect, a deep and comprehensive knowledge of tradition, and a clear insight into things human and divine. Therefore the poet's office claimed the entire man and the devotion of his entire life; nor has any one formed a loftier conception of that office than Æschylus. Like Pindar, he introduces his hearers to the depths of mythology, by directing attention to its moral solemnity, and by illustrating it with the light of historical experiences. Mankind, as Æschylus depicted it in the Titan Prometheus,—enduring in the midst of struggles and tribulation, proud in its self-consciousness, unwearied in inventive thought, but at the same time prone to rashness and to vainglorious arrogance,—is no other than the generation of Æschylus' own contemporaries, ever stirring restlessly onward: but no wisdom is of avail, save that derived from Zeus, no

skill and intelligence, save those based upon moral piety. Thus without any petty and designing officiousness, the poet is a true instructor of the people; in an age of rising doubts he endeavours to support the religion of his fathers, to refine popular conceptions, and to draw forth from under the glittering tinsel of the fables of mythology the religious germ of salutary truth. It was the mission of the poets to preserve an accordance between the traditions and the spiritual progress of the nation.

But at the same time the poets were placed in the midst of civil society; nor was it conceivable, in such a city as Athens, that men who brought the creations of their minds before the community, assembled at its public festivals, should remain indifferent to the questions of the present. They were necessarily members of a particular party, and, if they were truthful and outspoken men, allowed their views of what was advantageous to the state to become apparent in their works. True, their choice of subjects remained for the most part restricted to the myths: man's power of will, his deeds and his sufferings, the opposition between human and divine laws, between liberty and fate, the poets preferred to represent in the characters of the Heroic age handed down by epic poetry. These were the types of the human race, and their sufferings the sufferings and difficulties of mankind in general. In looking upon the Heroes, the spectators were to be freed from their own share of cares and anxieties, to enlarge the narrow sphere of their own self-consciousness, and subject their own minds to a salutary process of refinement; with the Heroic figures accorded the ideal character which it was desired to give to the whole world of the stage. Nor was a fainter impression created, or less emotion called forth, because the world into which the spectators felt transplanted was enveloped in the mists of a pre-historic age. In the warlike plays of Æschylus the spirit of the soldier of Marathon was after all perceptible; and whoever had

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listened to the *Seven against Thebes* felt an enthusiastic longing to stand under arms on his country's behalf.

Combination of mythological and historic subjects: the Persæ of Æschylus.

However already Phrynichus had ventured to bring events of the day upon the tragic stage; his *Fall of Miletus* and his *Phœnissæ* were doubtless not devoid of a very definite tendency (p. 351). In a far grander style Æschylus followed the example of his predecessor, when, four years after the *Phœnissæ* of Phrynichus, he produced his drama of the *Persæ*. In this play Æschylus did not merely confine himself to events lately witnessed and taken part in by the Athenians,—events, the direct impression of which it was in the power of no poetic representation to heighten or surpass. Like Herodotus, he viewed the struggle between Asia and Europe as a great historic drama, the different acts of which, widely separated from one another both in time and in space, he combined in one tripartite poetic work. Of the first part, *Phineus*, the earliest feuds between the two continents, and particularly the bold expeditions of the Argonauts, doubtless formed the subject. The middle play, the *Persæ*, contains the rout of Xerxes; but the poet, with a fine artistic sense, made Persia the scene of the tragedy. It is accordingly the consequences of the battle, and its reaction upon the capital of the hostile empire, which are brought before our eyes: Darius is summoned by incantations from the tomb, so that in his person, that of the religious and reflecting king, may be represented the glories of the Persian empire when unimpaired, while his successor returns despoiled of all his dignity,—a warning example of the ruin which foolish arrogance brings upon all imperial power. In the third tragedy the sea divinity *Glaucus*, whose home is in Bœotia, announces the overthrow of the Barbarians in the battle of Himera; and thus connects the Bœotian and the Sicilian victories. Accordingly the work of Æschylus weaves the prehistoric ages and the present, things near and distant,

into one grand picture, which is united by a deep internal connexion. Looking both into the future and into the past, he like a prophet interprets the course of history; he elevates the consciousness of his nation by picturing the power of the Hellenes rising, and that of the Barbarians sinking on all sides, without allowing any admixture of derision or mocking exultation to obscure the moral loftiness of his poem. At the same time he moderates the pride of his countrymen, by pointing to the Persian king's own provocation of his overthrow, and to the eternal laws of divine justice, apart from the observance of which the fortunes of the Hellenes will be equally unable to endure.

While in the triumphal tragedy of Phrynichus Themistocles was celebrated as the preserver of his native city, Æschylus only makes a passing allusion to him as the inventor of a crafty stratagem: on the other hand, by means of a full description of the struggle on Psyttalea (p. 293), the fame of Aristides is exalted, as of a hero who essentially contributed to the victory of Salamis, and this in the part of the battle fought on land, and not on the water. It was impossible to describe the battle of Platææ in the *Glaucus* without proclaiming the glory of Aristides. Nor was there in the tragedies on mythical subjects any lack of passages which permitted, and even demanded, a direct application to the present. Such allusions were not the result of impure and frosty secondary designs obscuring the pure effect of poetry, but they were necessary to such a man as Æschylus; he could not do otherwise than give expression in his poems also to that which he regarded as the good of the state and as the characteristic impress of the best of its citizens: and these references were the less liable to cause a dissonance, inasmuch as in antiquity the principles of moral and of political wisdom so closely coincided. The public, on the other hand, which in the theatre no less than in the assembly was conscious of its character as a civic body, rapidly and spontaneously understood all allusions which might be interpreted to

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refer to public affairs and personages; and the eyes of all men turned to Aristides when Æschylus' words were spoken of Amphiaraus, "whose wish was not to seem, but to *be* just, and who from the far depths of his loyal heart sent forth the fruits of counsel proved and true." Next to Aristides, Cimon was the principal object of the veneration of the Æschylean muse. Æschylus, as well as Cimon, was the champion of a common Hellenism, of ancestral usage, of the rule of the Best, and of the discipline of the good old times; and therefore, when the billows of the popular movement rose higher and higher, and at the end threatened even the last bulwark, the Areopagus, the septuagenarian poet led his muse into the midst of the conflicting parties, and exerted his utmost powers to commend to his fellow-citizens the sacred dignity of the Areopagus as a divine foundation, and to warn them against the consequences of an unblessed escape from all restraint (p. 383). The *Eumenides* of Æschylus is a splendid example of the possibility of creating a great poem for a special purpose and with a special tendency, without on that account depriving it of diaphanous clearness and a loftiness which leaves it a model for all ages. Although the Areopagus as a court of judgment remained untouched, (and there can be no objection against attributing a momentous influence in this matter to the drama of Æschylus,) yet the poet felt himself strange and isolated in the city where the democratic system had at last been perfected. This was not the liberty for which he had bled in battle, and the band of the warriors in the struggles for liberation dwindled more and more. The *Oresteia* was the last work which Æschylus brought upon the stage at Athens: he died at Gela, in Sicily.

Æschylus and Sophocles.

The era of the warriors of Marathon had passed; and the new age, the age of Pericles, found exponents in a younger generation, and on the Dionysian stage in Sophocles. He was not, like Æschylus, descended from an ancient family of the nobility; his father was

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an armourer, whom the times of war had made a prosperous citizen. Sophocles was born in the suburban district of Colonus, about Ol. lxx. 4 (B.C. 496); and grew up amongst the rural beauties of the valley of the Cephisus, under the shade of sacred olive-trees, the witnesses of the earliest national history, but at the same time in the neighbourhood of the busy capital, near the sea, which he overlooked from the rocky height of his native deme, whence during his boyhood he had seen the harbour-city rise into existence before his eyes. In the first bloom of youthful beauty he danced as leader of the choir at the festival celebrated in honour of the victory of Salamis; twelve years afterwards he already contested the prize as an independent poet with the great Æschylus, the inspirations of whose art had attracted the young man into the same course of poetic fame. It was a day of unwonted excitement for all Athens, when the people awaited the result of the contest between the ambitious youthful poet and Æschylus, then approaching his sixtieth year, and twice crowned with the laurel of victory. This was the same Dionysian festival on which Cimon, after bringing to a brilliant issue the Thracian campaign (p. 346), came up to the city from the Piræeus, and in the orchestra of the theatre brought his thank-offering to the gods; the people was in ecstasy at the relics of Theseus brought home by him; and, under the joyful acclamations of the assembled citizens, the archon Apsephion by an extraordinary election nominated Cimon and his fellow-generals judges of the dramatic contest, as the worthiest representatives of the ten tribes. The result was that the prize was accorded to the *Triptolemus* trilogy of Sophocles.*

Sophocles and his art.

There was no opposition between the art of Sophocles and that of his predecessor. The younger poet reverentially looked up to the great master, the originality and vigour of whose mind had opened the

* See Note XXXVIII. Appendix.

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path for the perfection of the tragic art. Envy and jealousy were foreign to the loveable disposition of Sophocles. But, at the same time, he was an extremely independent pupil; and as to the whole character of his natural gifts, widely differed from his predecessor. His nature was gentler, simpler, and calmer, and, in the matter of taste, averse from pathos and pomp. He accordingly moderated the vigour of theatrical speech, as it had been introduced by Æschylus; and endeavoured, without reducing them to a vulgar level, to represent characters in a more human form; so that the spectator felt as if he stood at less distance from them. This tendency is closely connected with the change in the treatment of the subjects of tragedy. Sophocles perceived that myths could not be constantly reproduced before the people with the same circumstantiality, without the interest in them being gradually exhausted. Hence it was important to develope more vital action within the individual tragedies, to give more depth and definiteness to the conception of the characters, and to furnish a livelier impulse towards the provocation of psychological interest. After, then, already Æschylus had dealt with the Trilogy in such a manner as not to fetter himself to the course of one particular mythical story, the bond of union afforded by the form of the Trilogy was by Sophocles, if not completely removed, yet so far relaxed, that henceforth each single tragedy constituted an entire work complete in itself, and requiring to be judged of as a separate work of art. By this means greater freedom of movement was obtained; the leading ideas of each separate play were treated with more detail and delicacy; and the poetic picture received a great accession of variety by the prominence given to secondary characters. Thus, in his version of the myth of Orestes, Sophocles gives less prominence to the matricidal deed and its author; and finds a new form in which to reproduce the subject which had been so frequently treated before,

by constituting Electra, the sister of Orestes, his principal character, in whose soul the whole tragic course of events is reflected; so that an opportunity is thus found for a psychological creation of great interest and variety, a picture of female heroism, for which again an excellent background is supplied in the figure of Electra's sister, differing entirely from her in disposition.

In order practically to apply these means for refining and advancing the dramatic art, Sophocles introduced the use of the third actor; and thus made possible an incomparably greater vivacity of action, as well as a greater variety in the colouring and grouping of the characters. Furthermore, Sophocles, although himself an adept in dance and song, was the first who renounced the practice of himself representing characters in his tragedies. Henceforth the efforts of the actor were kept distinct from those of the poet; and the art of the former received a more independent significance of its own. To the chorus a less busy position was assigned outside the action; and the really dramatic element now became more significantly prominent as the central body of the tragedy. Æschylus himself acknowledged this progress in the art; for he not only adopted the external improvements effected in tragedy by Sophocles, but also, thus aided by the latter, himself rose to the height of a fuller maturity in the drama.

Sophocles was as familiar as Æschylus with public life; but he was wholly a poet, and averse from allowing the tranquil calm of his mind to be disturbed by business of state and party conflicts. Ion describes the poet to us, as he met him, when fifty-five years of age, and at the time Attic *strategus* at Chios. Ion found in Sophocles the most cheerful and amiable of social companions, who indulged in all kinds of jests even on the subject of his own office of general. Yet his art, notwithstanding, accompanied, and was a result of, the great era in which

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Athens extended her dominion over all the coasts of the Archipelago; and in the same measure as Athens had herself advanced in her course and in independence of policy, Sophocles also was more of an Athenian and an Attic patriot than Æschylus, whose first love was still devoted to subjects and ideas common to all Hellenes. Sophocles contributed to cause the preference which arose for the treatment of Attic subjects: his *Triptolemus* celebrated Attica as the home of a higher culture, which spread hence over distant lands; and the myths of Œdipus in his hands find a peaceful conclusion on Attic soil, in Sophocles' own native district of Colonus; while the *Electra* also displays the Athenian point of view (the ultimate subject of the action of the drama being represented to be the overthrow of an illegal rule, and a struggle for liberty). His tragedies, above all other works, helped to give an inner and moral significance to the era of the external power and glory of Athens, in accordance with the endeavours of Pericles himself. Like the latter, Sophocles sought to uphold the honour of the ancient cults and usages of the land, of the unwritten ordinances of sacred law; but at the same time to make himself master of every advance of intellectual culture and every enlargement of its sphere. The language of his poetry testifies to a developed vigour of intellect, which often in terseness of form ventures close upon the limits of incomprehensibility; but how well does he at the same time understand how to preserve the charms of gracefulness, and what a spirit of felicitous harmony pervades all his works! He was a man after Pericles' own heart; and the intimacy existing between the pair is proved by the pleasant and natural manner in which the statesman treated the poet as his colleague in command in the camp. Sophocles was never a party man and a party poet in the sense in which Æschylus, and apparently Phrynichus also, appear to have been such. But the art of Sophocles was a mirror of the

loftiest tendencies of the times, a glorified exponent of the spirit of Periclean Athens; and we come upon a clear and sound judgment on civil affairs in all passages in which the poet praises reflecting counsel as the foundation of political welfare. In him the Attic people perceived and appreciated the true poet of the age: for no other won so many prizes, and so undisturbedly enjoyed his fame, as Sophocles; nor until the age of Pericles was past could Euripides succeed as his rival, who, although Sophocles' junior by not more than fifteen or sixteen years, yet already belonged to quite another epoch. Yet even Euripides never defeated Sophocles in the tragic contest.

Attic comedy. Its origin

By the side of tragedy, comedy developed itself out of the same germ, *i.e.* out of the Bacchic festivities. Comedy is the genuine sister of tragedy; but for a longer period grew up in rural freedom from restraint, and at a much later date fell under the discipline and training of the city: for the same reason, comedy also more faithfully preserved the character indicating its original source. The origin of comedy is to be sought in the merry-makings of the vintage, in the festive rejoicings of the peasants over the new blessings of the year, such as recur in all wine countries. Swarms of masked holiday-makers sang the praise of the god who was the bringer of joy; and, at the same time, in drunken revelry played off all kinds of jokes and jests upon those who came in the way of the procession and offered occasion for mockery and fun; the events of the day were abundantly taken advantage of, and whoever gave vent to the merriest conceits was rewarded by hearty laughter and praise from a grateful public. Thus the autumn festivals were also celebrated in Attica, particularly in the rural district of Icaria, whose worship of Dionysus made it in a manner the home of the entire drama of the Athenians; for Thespis, too, as will be remembered, had sprung thence. To Icaria came Susarion of Megara, whence he brought the rude wit of the

(Susarion—

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Megarean farce, with which he struck the keynote, which remained in force in Attica also during the next ensuing period. Of his school was Mæson, very popular in the age of the Pisistratidæ. The next step was the removal of the rural stage to the capital, where it received public recognition at the hands of the state, and was supported from the public funds. This happened about the time of the Persian wars; and the vigour and ardour which at that period pervaded the whole public life of the Athenians here again gave marks of its existence, by transforming the rude and half-foreign farce into a well-organised species of art, full of inner meaning, and genuinely Attic in its character.

Mæson)

and progress.

Since the Icarian plays had found a home on the scene of tragedy, many of the already perfected forms of the tragic drama were transferred to the younger branch of the art. For this also public competitions, prizes, and prize judges were established, as well as the provision of choirs (*choregy*) ordered (p. 477); and the comic performances received an organisation similar to that of the tragic in reference to dialogue, chorus, number of actors, &c., without on that account losing their peculiar characteristics. For while tragedy lifted the spectator into higher spheres, and endeavoured by means of all the resources of art to represent phases of existence reaching far above the measure of ordinary life, comedy maintained a close connexion with the present and with every-day society. It preserved a greater freedom and absence of restraint in the matter of dances, metres, and dialogue; and to such a degree retained the character of an occasional piece calculated upon the effect of the moment, that the poet employed the chorus in order, during the course of the play, utterly to interrupt its connexion, and to enter into conversation with the public on the subject of his personal concerns or exciting questions of the day, in lengthy *parabases*. Accordingly comedy could only attain to success and

authority in the perfected condition of democracy, which it accompanies through all the stadia of its development. Occupied from its first origin with the absurd and therefore ridiculous phenomena in human society, comedy castigated all follies, failings, and infirmities,—a purpose for which it could never be in want of materials in so busy and transparent a public life as that of the Athenians; while it was in no less a degree provided with a public witty, clever, always ready for a laugh, and receptive for every allusion. But comedy also drew forth to the light of day the abuses, abnormities, and contradictions in public life. Herein lay the solemn part of its mission; for without the background of serious and patriotic feelings its jests would have remained feeble, ineffective, and contemptible. The comic poets intended, not frivolously to amuse the people, but to instruct and guide it, like the tragedians, and in a time of feverish agitation it was precisely against the novel fashions of the day that they aimed their blows; they contrasted ancient with modern usage, cherished the memory of those who had fought in the Wars of Liberation, and encouraged others to imitate the example of these men. They were at the same time fond of taking their cue from important events of the day; as, *e.g.*, Cratinus in his *Thracian Women*, from the colonisation of the land of Thrace (p. 486).

It is easy to understand how strong an attraction this species of art must have exercised upon minds of original power. Here they found an unbounded sphere for the exercise of their talents; here they were fettered by no tradition as to the invention and treatment of their story. Fancy and the play of wit enjoyed unbounded liberty; and the public beheld the choral dancers appear before them decked out with wittily-invented attributes, as clouds, frogs, or birds: no happy conceit, however audacious, needed to be suppressed. The poet might take advantage of all the resources of poetry, calculated either to rouse the

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enthusiasm of the hearer by their grandeur and ardour, to fascinate him by their grace, to entertain him by sarcasm and wit, or to surprise him by the invention of new words and ideas; under the protection of the liberty of the stage the poet might boldly call to account the mightiest personage in the state; and the people recognised in him the champion of civil liberty.

The comic poets:

In proportion, of course, to the liberty of action enjoyed by the comic poet, as to both form and matter, were the difficulties besetting his art; and with extreme rapidity the favour of the public changed, which ungratefully dropped its favourites, whose verses were in the mouths of all men, as soon as the source of their inventive powers showed signs of drying up.

Crates. Cratinus.

Crates and Cratinus were the founders of comedy as an Attic art. Cratinus was slightly junior to Æschylus, and, like the latter, a mind of original and creative vigour, but through his love of unrestrained liberty, and his inexhaustible wit, marked out by nature for a comic poet, and by his rough sense of veracity qualified for establishing comedy as a power in the state. This took place about the same time when Pericles became powerful at Athens; and although Cratinus was not a man unconditionally to join one of the conflicting parties, yet we are informed that in his *Archilochi*, a comedy with a chorus consisting of mockers of the stamp of Archilochus, he, in the period following immediately upon the death of Cimon, introduced the character of an Attic citizen who lamented the loss of "the divine man," "the most hospitable, the best of all Panhellenes, with whom he had hoped to spend a serene old age,—but now he had passed away in advance." The mighty Cratinus was followed by Aristophanes and Eupolis; both undeniably mentally akin to and resembling him in sentiment, but at the same time more observant of the rules of art, and milder and more moderate in expression. But of the pair, to Aristophanes alone it

Aristophanes. Eupolis.

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was given to combine with these qualities a wealth of creative invention equalling that of Cratinus.*

Athens' the centre of intellectual life in Hellas.

All these men,—philosophers and historians, orators and poets,—of whom every individual marks an epoch in the progress of art and science, were not only contemporaries, but fellow-inhabitants of a single city; partly born in it and nourished from youth up by the glories of their native town, partly attracted thither by these glories; nor did they remain standing merely externally by the side of one another, but worked, consciously or unconsciously, for the accomplishment of a great common cause. For, whether they were personally intimate or not with the great statesman, the centre of the Attic world, or whether they were even numbered among his adversaries, they yet could not but help essentially to support him in the accomplishment of the task of his life, viz. the elevation of Athens to the position of the intellectual capital of Greece. Here the germs of culture introduced from foreign countries acquired new vitality: the Ionic study of foreign countries and nations became the art of historical writing, as soon as Herodotus came into contact with Athens; at Athens the Peloponnesian Dithyrambus was developed into tragedy, and the farce of Megara into comedy; the philosophers of Magna Græcia and Ionia met in Athens, in order there to supplement one another, and prepare the growth of an Attic philosophy; even Sophistry was nowhere turned to so profitable an account as at Athens. While formerly every country, every town or island, of Hellas had its separate school and tendency, now all vigorous tendencies of mind crowded together at Athens; the local and tribal differences of character and dialect were reconciled with one another; and as the drama, the most Attic of all branches of art, received within it all the earlier forms, in order to

* As to Cratinus and Cimon, cf. Plut. *Cim.* ed. Ekker, p. 20. A political comedy by Timocreon, directed against Themistocles, is mentioned by Suidas. Cf. *Fr. Hist. Gr.* ii. 54.

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combine them for the purpose of an organic co-operation, so there grew out of the union of all the acquisitions of the Hellenic intellect a universal culture, which was Attic and national-Greek at the same time. However greatly the other states opposed the political preponderance of Athens, yet no one could but perceive that here, where Æschylus, Sophocles, Herodotus, Zeno, Anaxagoras, Protagoras, Crates, and Cratinus were beheld working in unison, was the common hearth of all higher efforts, the heart of the whole fatherland, a Hellas in Hellas.

Healthy character of this intellectual activity.

Though no knowledge is granted to us concerning the mutual relations between these great men of the same age, yet we learn that Pericles held intercourse with the most eminent of their number; we know of the friendship between Herodotus and Sophocles, and are told that the latter, by means of social meetings to which he invited his companions in arts, endeavoured to further the success of their common efforts. But as Greek art in general owed the security of its progress to the circumstance that its younger representatives were not anxious to gain an advance upon their elders by means of spasmodic attempts at originality, but that everywhere what was good was retained, and what had once proved itself such found a grateful reception and cultivation; so, in Athens too, we find the elder masters honoured and celebrated by the younger, Æschylus by Sophocles, Cratinus by Aristophanes. But the most distinguishing characteristic of intellectual life at Athens was this: that the men of eminence, though conscious of the solemnity of their calling, yet owed their acknowledged supremacy to no narrow-minded limitation of their powers to one particular department. They stood in the midst of public life; and it was this which preserved their vigour, nourished and strengthened their intellects, and prevented the occurrence of an estrangement, disadvantageous to either side, between civic life and that which devotes its

attention to the arts and sciences. Every one desired to be a complete man, a citizen in every sense. Most of the eminent men of this age we find frequently engaged on journeys which lead to the establishment of a wide network of mutual relations, and to a beneficial interchange of different tendencies of mind. Philosophers and poets are employed as statesmen, as soldiers and generals; for the purpose of negotiations with other states, men of national fame, like Sophocles, might be very advantageously used; and even those who principally devoted themselves to the service of the Muses were poets and actors at the same time, and masters of the art of song and of the dance.*

This many-sidedness was only rendered possible by the extreme vital vigour which distinguished the contemporaries of Pericles; and the high degree of culture, to which the Hellenic people had at that time attained, is proved by the fact that intellectual and physical forces so frequently found themselves united in an important measure. We admire the men who, in the midst of unwearying labours, were able to preserve the fulness of their vigour up to a high old age, and progressed to the last in the perfection of their art. After Sophocles had written 113 dramas, he is said to have read aloud the chorus of the *Œdipus Coloneus*, in order to disprove the truth of the rumour which declared the infirmity of old age to have rendered him incapable of managing his property. Cratinus numbered ninety-one years when he produced his *Dame Bottle*, and with this audacious comedy defeated Aristophanes (who had already considered him an opponent of the past). Similarly, Xenophanes, Parmenides, and Zeno were, when old men, models of healthful vigour. Polus, Sophocles' favourite actor, was capable of undertaking the leading part in eight tragedies within the space of four days. Finally, the healthy efficiency and versatility

* Sophocles, ed. Bergk, page xiv.; Helbig, *Quæst. Scænicæ*, 1861, p. 2 ff.

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of the Attic masters also shows itself in this: that, while extraordinarily productive in creative works, they at the same time endeavoured to attain to a clear and scientific comprehension of the object and means of their art, and combined with the enthusiasm of the poetic temperament the perfect calm of reflection and the love of theoretical research. Thus Lasus, who established the Dithyrambus in its perfected form, was at the same time a critical mind and one of the first writers on the theory of music; and Sophocles himself wrote a treatise on the tragic chorus, in order to develope his views as to the significance of the latter and as to the organisation of tragedy. Similarly, the leading architects of that age composed scientific treatises on the subject of their art.

The fine arts.

The state can never exercise any other than an indirect influence on speech and poetry, as well as upon the progress of science: by offering opportunities to the great artists for furthering objects of public importance; by the bestowal of salaries upon individual poets of acknowledged reputation; by the distribution of prizes; by causing the works of a Herodotus to be recited before the people; by conducting the festivals in which the dramatic spectacles are produced with the equipment most worthy of them. It is otherwise with architecture and the plastic arts. These are more dependent upon external circumstances: in order to accomplish any great work, they need resources such as the state alone can offer; and in this matter, moreover, supervision is needed in order to combine all existing forces for common purposes and to prevent their wasting themselves upon insignificant tasks.*

* It is true that a salary was paid by the state to the poets also: cf. Bœckh, *Publ. Ec. of Athens*, vol. i. p. 321 [Engl. Transl.]; Fritzsche ad Aristoph. *Ran.* v. 367. As to the time in which comedy became a public institution, see Leutsch, *Philol. Suppl.* i. page 99; Bernhardy, *Gr. Litt.* ii. 2, page 134.

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Painting at Athens:

From the earliest times Attica was a favourable locality for the cultivation of the fine arts. Its inhabitants possessed in a high degree that sense of the beautiful which distinguishes the Hellenic nation; scenery and atmosphere contributed to develope their sense of form and colour; while the soil offered to the industrious population a stone of incomparable excellence for the purposes of architecture and sculpture, as well as an admirable species of earth for modelling, pottery, and painting on earthenware. Painting was originally confined to sketches in outline filled up with colours; and to the Athenian Eumarus, whose name signifies the same as Eucheir (vol. i. p. 273), was ascribed the glory of having been the first to distinguish male and female personages by the adoption of different colouring. His art was further developed by Cimon of Cleonæ, the outline-sketch acquiring more life and variety by a more careful drawing of the limbs and drapery. Religious worship gave rise to the decoration of larger spaces of wall with coloured representations; the dedication of sacred gifts, which were to preserve the memory of events of importance, unsuited for plastic reproduction (p. 160), led to the composition of tabular pictures, which were placed in the sanctuaries. Thus the art of painting gradually progressed in Samos, Chalcis, Corinth, Paros, Thasos, Rhegium, and elsewhere. But a vital advance was first effected at Athens; and this glory also the city owed to her victorious navy. For when the wealthy island of the Thasians ventured to enter into war with Athens (p. 362), the art of painting was flourishing in the former, particularly in the house of Aglaophon. One of his most talented sons was Polygnotus, whom, from the times of the Thasian war, we find in close relations and personal connexion with Cimon. It is, accordingly, extremely probable that it was Cimon who induced Polygnotus to change his place of abode to Athens, and who thus invested his victory with undying significance for Attic art. For

Eumarus.

Cimon of Cleonæ.

Polygnotus.

CHAP. III.

Polygnotus immediately began to develope a grand activity at Athens. He adorned with his pictures the sanctuary of Theseus, recently completed by Cimon, and similarly the new hall on the city market, which Cimon had planted with trees after its erection by one of his relatives (probably his brother-in-law), Pisianax; furthermore, the sanctuary of the Dioscuri and the sacred chamber at the entrance of the citadel, afterwards known under the name of the Picture-gallery, or "*Pinacothece.*".

His style and works.

The fame of Polygnotus hereupon spread over all Greece. To him was committed the decoration of the temple of Athene 'Αρεία in Platææ, and of the *Lesche* (or Hall of Reception) at Delphi; he formed a school at Athens, to which artists native (*e.g.* Micon and Panænus) and foreign (*e.g.* Dionysius of Colophon) attached themselves. The influence of this school also affected the industrial trade of Attic art; for from this period we find, besides the older style of vase-painting (black figures on a red ground), a more modern style (red figures on a black ground): and while the former was particularly practised at Corinth, the latter is in the main Attic, and in every respect displays the rise of new artistic powers, superior beauty in the forms of the vases, greater wealth of invention, more expression in the grouping, and (notwithstanding that the drawing is still hard) an undeniable grace, the effects of which are rendered doubly strong by a concomitant solemn severity of design. Here we recognise in Attic manufactures the effects of the great epoch which commenced with the arrival of Polygnotus at Athens. Never was the hospitality of the Athenians more splendidly repaid; for, in return for the rights of citizenship bestowed upon him, he painted for them gratuitously the great frescoes which, more than any other of her possessions, distinguished the city, and raised her school of painters to the rank of the first in Hellas. Polygnotus was at heart a man of thoroughly grand ideas and lofty purposes;

nor was anything less desired by him than merely agreeably to amuse the eye by the attractions of colour and by deceptive semblance. He kept in the background everything calculated for mere sensual effect; his art was severe and chaste, and its sole end to give an expression in the simplest form to artistic ideas. His mind dwelt in the traditions of religion and epic poetry; and, like Pindar and Æschylus, he endeavoured to combine the subjects taken thence with the present. After the plan of an Æschylean trilogy, the three frescoes of the market-hall (painted by different hands, but doubtless under his directions)—the battle of the Amazons, the sack of Ilium, and the battle of Marathon—represented the successive epochs of the great struggle between Asia and Europe. In Platææ he painted the overthrow of the suitors in the house of Odysseus, with evident reference to the Barbarian intruders who had met with their punishment at Platææ.

Polygnotus is the founder of a school of historical painting, the lofty style of which has never been surpassed. The proud self-consciousness which animated the contemporaries of Cimon inspired all the works which issued from this school, whether their subjects were taken from epic poetry or from contemporary history. In the case of the latter extreme fidelity to truth was observed. Thus in the battle of Marathon Miltiades was to be seen represented in person, leading on and encouraging the Athenians to the attack on the Persians at the moment of their being driven into the morasses; the struggle at the ships, the heroic death of Callimachus, all found a place in the picture; nor did the work lack a reference to the invisible world, for the shades of the national Heroes appeared rising to take part in the battle. The execution of so purely Attic a subject Polygnotus had left to an Attic artist, Panænus. Subjects of a general Hellenic character gave Polygnotus himself the greatest delight, as might be expected from the friend of Cimon. Hence no more

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attractive task could be found for him than the decoration of the Delphic hall, where Hellenes of all countries and dialects met together as the members of one nation and the servants of the same gods. Here he unfolded the full wealth of the Homeric myths; but, instead of contenting himself with depicting a succession of groups after the fashion of the epos, he united all the groups, each of which was clearly and intelligibly composed of a few personages, round certain centres. Every spectator recognised the thinking mind which perfectly commanded the subject, while at the same time he was affected and edified by the morally religious ideas of the artist. For at Delphi the theological tendency of Polygnotus asserted itself in a more decided manner. In the fall of Troy, as in the representation of the lower world, he knew how to place before the eye the justice of the gods, which governs the change of human things. Whoever understood the simple but deep symbolism of the artist, read in the figure of Antenor, tranquilly taking his departure from the burning city, the reward of hospitality; and saw expressed in the figures of the Initiated the blessings of the mysteries which reach beyond the grave.

Sculpture.

With the foundation of the school of Polygnotus commences the supremacy of Athens in the domain of the fine arts; for the influence of that school also extended to their plastic branches. The latter had gone through an incomparably more important past in Greece than the art of painting. During the age of the Tyrants the Attic sculptors and architects had been busily at work; after the fall of the Pisistratidæ, Harmodius and Aristogiton became the subjects of rival representations. Furthermore, the ancient guild of the Dædalidæ was unceasingly employed in serving religion by works in wood, marble, and ivory; and the figures of gods formed by Attic artists, *e.g.* Endœus, enjoyed a reputation extending far beyond the limits of the land. They were distinguished by solemn severity, religious

Endœus.

earnestness, and calm dignity of style. In this way the Athenians worked on; and everything known to us either by description or remains of Attic plastic works belonging to the time up to the Persian wars attests that, notwithstanding the extreme industry of the artists, and an earnest endeavour on their part to attain to natural truthfulness, their figures upon the whole remained dry and stiff, and void of freedom and life, and for a long time retained a very archaic character.

Peloponnesian schools of sculpture.

Greater activity prevailed in the Peloponnesus, where the art of founding in bronze flourished, and had attained to a freer and more versatile developement in dedicatory gifts and images of victors. Here the schools of art of Sicyon, Ægina, and Argos were at that time the most flourishing in the Greek world: at Sicyon the school of Canachus, who formed statues of Apollo for Miletus and Thebes about the time of the Persian wars; in Ægina the long-famous school of native founders in bronze (p. 74), which rose higher and higher as the prosperity and power of the island increased, and which reached its climax in Onatas. The latter was an artist of general Hellenic fame. He produced a colossus of Apollo for the Pergamenians, and a statue of Demeter for the Phigaleans in Arcadia (the latter being distinguished by the artist not holding fast with the anxious timidity of his predecessors to the tasteless form of the ancient faith, but freeing himself from priestly tradition and according to his own inspiration refining and ennobling the divine figure). But his full merits as an artist display themselves in the composition of great historical groups. Thus he created for the cities of Achaia a dedicatory gift, representing the Greek Heroes submitting to the lot the decision as to which of them should undertake the contest with Hector; and by Tarentum he was commissioned to found in bronze a representation of the battles on horse and on foot which its citizens had fought against the Italicans (the guardian Heroes of Tarentum being introduced as personally present). A

Onatas.

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good example of the efficiency of this school is offered by the sculptures of the temple of Athene (p. 200), which although themselves of marble, yet clearly show that it was bronze-founding which led the Æginetan art to the slender grace of form and to the expressive lightness of motion which characterise them.

Ageladas.

A contemporary of Onatas, and to some extent an associate in his labours, was Ageladas, who stood at the head of a celebrated and active school of art at Argos. Here again founding in bronze was the main point; and, in consequence of the numerous dedicatory gifts which were here executed for the Tarentines, Epidamnians, Messenians, &c., in single figures and groups, statues of gods and four-horse chariots, a versatility was attained to, both in technical execution and in composition, which attracted the most active artists to Argos, even from places at a greater distance, in order to improve themselves in the school of Ageladas; whose high importance is proved beyond all doubt by the fact, that three of the greatest artists of antiquity, viz. Myron, Polyclitus, and Phidias, were his pupils.

Myron.

Myron of Eleutheræ (the frontier-place of Attica towards Bœotia) was the eldest of the three. He brought into the *atelier* of the Peloponnesian artists Attic intellect and Attic inventiveness and energy, which, instead of resting content with the traditionary subjects, opened out new paths in many directions. Dramatic life, as it unfolded itself in Attic poetry, inspired the art of Myron, and led it beyond the range of the ordinary statues of victors. Thus he represented Ladas, who had gained the prize in the foot-race, as reaching the goal with his last breath on his lips; and the figure of his *Discobolus*, bent towards the ground, realised the extreme tension of all the muscles, —an act of dramatic force and life upon which, as the spectator clearly perceived, a total change in the position of all the limbs must in the next moment follow. This work displays the perfect security to which Myron

had attained by his studies in the Argive school of art, and at the same time the new and original use to which he knew how to put the resources of the latter. At the same time the Attic masters had taught him the qualifications of an efficient sculptor of figures of gods; while a certain rude natural vigour (in which we fancy we recognise the Bœotian type) induced him to devote himself with particular success to the production of animal figures, natural as well as fabulous, as well as of scenes of still-life. CHAP. III.

This versatility of genius was wanting to Polyclitus, who had entered the Argive school of art from Sicyon; but his nature was that of an artist in harmony with himself. He was unwearyingly engaged in the endeavour to advance to the contemplation and representation of perfect beauty; and therefore sought scientifically to ascertain the normal proportions of the human body, and reproduce them in typical forms. His sculptures were accordingly, in direct contrast to those of Myron, chiefly in calm attitudes, and characterised by extreme simplicity; and in order to avoid sameness, he employed the insignificant, but at the same time highly effective, device of letting his statues generally rest upon *one* foot, so that in the attitude of the body a graceful contrast became apparent between the supporting and supported side—the one in stronger tension, and the other in softer relaxation and ease. By refining all merely personal elements he elevated the corporeal to perfect grace of form; nor have the works of Polyclitus ever been surpassed in faultless beauty and earnest dignity. But he lacked great subjects; for he had no native city with a living history, and with citizens full of zeal for an art which served their own fame. The most important commission which fell to his lot, the temple statue of Here, was probably only executed in consequence of what had been meanwhile accomplished at Athens. *Polyclitus.*

The Attic schools of art had been surpassed by those in Thasos, Sicyon, Ægina, and Argos. But *Sculpture at Athens.*

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though these lesser statues were well adapted under favourable circumstances greatly to advance the progress of the fine arts for a time and in certain directions, yet a Hellenic art could not fully unfold itself except in a state which was itself a centre of Hellenic history, a seat of power and a theatre of glory; for the arts follow in the wake of victory, and it has ever been their loftiest task to perpetuate in lasting works great successes achieved by human wisdom and valour. Such was also the opinion of the Greek Tyrants, who dedicated splendid gifts designed to testify during coming generations to the prosperity and wealth of the dedicator. But in these works the people had no part, because the prosperity of the Tyrants was based upon the oppression of the people; nor can any popular art spring from selfish designs of individual dynasts. Now, all these things had changed. A great national movement had seized upon the entire people; its result, the rout of the Persians, was a deed of that people; a state of free citizens had headed the movement; and this state had now attained to wealth and power, and these citizens possessed sufficient artistic sense to regard the erection of great works of art as a matter of the highest public importance.

Thus all circumstances concurred to favour the policy of Pericles, and to make it appear as one necessarily resulting from the natural course of events. For he was far from wishing to occasion a boastful display of the wealth of Attica; his intention was, that Hellenic art, which had gradually pressed all materials into her service,—found the proper styles for every form of architectural and plastic art,—worked out every species of technical skill, from the construction of the colossal statue in gold and ivory to the formation of the simplest vessel for domestic use,—in short, had passed through its school from beginning to end and accomplished its course of training,—that this Hellenic art should now, in the adornment of Athens, find the task in the execution of which it might prove the

fulness of its powers. Themistocles had in view nothing beyond the fortification of Athens, because this was the condition of her independence. The munificence of Cimon did much to adorn Athens and her suburbs; and Polygnotus was eminently adapted for investing the works of Cimon with the sacred character of high art. They, however, as yet lacked any general connexion; nor is it to be denied that in his artistic undertakings Cimon was rather actuated by the intention of increasing his popularity and fostering the fame of his family, than by any conception of these works as forming part of the great duties of a statesman. This conception Pericles was the first to realise. The position and power to which it was his ambition that Athens should attain required that plastic art, which more than anything else created a distinction between Hellenes and Barbarians, should become an Attic art, and serve to adorn the twice sacrificed and destroyed city with perfect monuments, in comparison with which all former creations of Greek hands should be regarded as mere preliminary efforts. That Pericles was more successful in this than in all his other efforts is due not only to his personal qualities, but above all to the favour of circumstances, which brought the right men for this great work to Athens—and first and foremost among them all brought Phidias.

The youth of Phidias.

Phidias, the son of Charmides, was senior to Sophocles by a few years. He belonged to a family in which the worship of Athene *Ergane* ("the work-mistress") was hereditary, as well as a versatile devotion to various branches of art. Phidias himself was at first a painter, like his brother Panœnus; nor was it till a later period in his life that he directed his attention more exclusively to sculpture, which he studied most carefully in all its branches. He went while very young to the Peloponnesus, where tranquillity prevailed during the period in which the struggles took place in Attica for the possession of the soil; and in the *atelier* of Ageladas obtained his first

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conception of the active life of a great artist. After his return he had soon attained to reputation as one of the foremost artists of Athens, and was already prominently employed in the execution of the monuments which remained due to the victors of Marathon. For this purpose even those treasures were employed which had come into the possession of the Athenians at their subsequent victories, because the celebration of the day of Marathon was ever a matter of special moment to the citizens. Of course Cimon had a special cause for encouraging this feeling. For, after the unhappy prosecution of his father had fallen into oblivion, the clouded glory of the latter again brilliantly emerged: and now the large groups in bronze were executed for Delphi, comprising the Heroes of the Attic tribes, as the representatives of the civic community; by their side Codrus, Theseus, and as a third probably Philaïus, the son of Ajax (who had acquired Salamis for Athens—the ancestor of the Philaïdæ, to whom Miltiades and Cimon belonged); and lastly Miltiades himself, with Apollo and Athene. No more splendid expiation could be offered to the hero's memory. About the same time the colossus of Athene Promachos ("the champion") issued from the *atelier* of Phidias.*

Thus even the age of Cimon offered ample opportunities for great creations to the artist. But there remained single occasional works, executed to order, according to the plan followed by Agcladas; with this difference, however, that the works of Phidias were consecrated to the glory of his native country, and were linked together by an inner bond of union. In the production of these works the genius of the artist was maturing for the age in which Pericles took into his hands the administration of the state.

Phidias and Pericles.

Phidias was not only the first master in the plastic art, abounding in invention and inspired by patriotic enthusiasm, but his was also a thinking mind; he

* See Note XXXIX. Appendix.

fully participated in the culture of the age—which, however, in his case, no more than in that of Æschylus and Sophocles, had provoked a rupture with the traditions of their fathers. Because he thus stood on the heights of contemporary culture, he was qualified to enter with perfect comprehension into the ideas of Pericles; while, on the other hand, his breadth of view, commanding all branches of art, qualified him for conducting with a safe hand important undertakings, the other artists being obliged to acknowledge the undeniable superiority of his genius. Notwithstanding the liberty of an unobstructed rivalry which prevailed, Phidias was king in the domain of art, as Pericles was in political life; he understood how to assign to the other artists their proper place, and stood in the midst of them as their ruler and leader, without lessening their fame or detracting from their zeal.

National schemes of art.

The objects which Pericles and Phidias proposed to themselves in reality amounted to a matter of Hellenic interest. For the whole country had been saved by the Wars of Liberation; the entire nation on either side of the sea had been united anew; and yet that which was necessary in order to bear witness in permanent monuments to the great era of the victorious rising of the nation, and the blessings consequent upon it, had by no means been hitherto effected. Already another generation had grown up; and the sanctuaries destroyed by the war yet remained unrestored, and the vows unfulfilled; while the celebration of the victory had been shamefully interrupted by the times of mutual opposition and feuds. To recover the lost ground was therefore a national duty; and Pericles undertook to treat it as such. The Hellenic confederation of war, which had once been formed against Persia through the exertions of Athens, was to be revived as a union for works of peace. For this purpose twenty men of advanced age, who had themselves taken part in the Wars of Liberation, were chosen from among the citizens. They were sent out

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in four groups: one to the Asiatic Ionians and Dorians, and to the island states; the other to the Hellespont and Thrace; the third commission went to Bœotia, Phocis, and the Peloponnesus; and finally the fourth to Eubœa and Thessaly. All free states were invited to send deputies to a national congress at Athens, here to agree upon measures for restoring all the destroyed sanctuaries, and accomplishing after a worthy fashion all the vows remaining unfulfilled. A new great national festival was to be founded, and new guarantees were to be obtained for the peaceable intercourse between all Hellenic states by sea and by land. The date of these embassies is nowhere stated with accuracy: probably they were despatched immediately after the Thirty Years' Peace (which Pericles concluded in Ol. lxxxiii. 3; B.C. 445), or at an earlier date, after the Five Years' Truce negotiated by Cimon (Ol. lxxxii. 3; B.C. 450).

Thus Athens for the first time appeared in the character of a national centre; she took into her hands what was properly an Amphictyonic matter, and what should have originated at Delphi, had the diet there still been a real power. It is easy to understand why the deputies returned to their homes, after giving evasive or negative answers. The larger states, Sparta above all, were wholly disinclined to concede to Athens the leading voice in national affairs, and to help to increase her authority; every endeavour to revive the memories of the war could only serve to heighten the glory of the Athenians. After, therefore, it had become necessary to relinquish the scheme of a national union, Athens was doubly justified in spending all the resources at hand upon herself, in order that within her limits the objects might be realised, which it had been sought to effect on a grander scale from the national resources, and for the glory of the entire fatherland.*

But the labours of the artists were not confined to

* See Note XL. Appendix.

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Athens. All parts of Attica had been laid desolate, and the sacred localities devastated with particular fury by the Barbarians. Every trace of the latter was now to be made to vanish out of the entire land, and new and fairer edifices were to rise in the place of the ruins. Something had already been done in the age of Cimon; but now the works then commenced were carried out on a grander scale and on a more connected plan: probably the state allowed special grants to the individual sanctuaries, in addition to their own resources; the emulation of munificent citizens contributed its part; and a series of efficient architects, with Ictinus at their head, were in intimate connexion with Pericles and Phidias. To this period belong the edifices erected on Sunium, the promontory resembling an island, whose precipitous walls of rock jut out into the sea of the Cyclades, a sacred place of Posidon and at the same time of Athene, held in honour by the seafaring folk. No locality could be found better adapted for marking out Athens on first sight (as towards the islands) then the pious, happy, and art-loving land of Pallas Athene. For this reason a new temple was here erected to her, and adorned with sculptures: a lordly portal and hall adjoining led up to the court of the temple, where the pillars, visible from afar, in serene dignity overhung the breakers of the sea. The temple was the centre of a festival celebrated with especial splendour once in every four years by the state: a theatre, built into the heights by the shore, accommodated the people, when the Attic triremes held their races here. Sunium was not only the halfway station between Athens and the island, but itself a populous place, and its vicinity, on account of the mines, one of the busiest parts of all Attica.

New structures at Athens.

The temple of Athene on Sunium.

Far different was the aspect of tranquil Rhamnus, situate in a hidden gorge of the Diacria, opposite Eubœa, an hour's distance to the north of Marathon. Above the valley lay the sanctuary of Nemesis, which

The Nemesis of Rhamnus.

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gave its importance to the entire district. Here, as it appears, a new and larger temple was built *by the side of* the older: the marble statue of the goddess, produced in the *atelier* of Phidias, recalled the overthrow of the Barbarians (by means of the goddesses of victory represented on her frontlet, and of the bowl, adorned with figures of Æthiopians, in her hand). And so accustomed were the visitors to Rhamnus to connect the whole work with Marathon, that it was even related that the marble block out of which this Nemesis had been formed had been dragged hither by the Persians, having been originally destined for a Persian monument of victory.*

Eleusis

At the opposite end of Attica, in the neighbourhood of the battle-field of Salamis, lay Eleusis, sacred from of old, which continued to maintain a certain degree of authority as a city by the side of Athens, and possessed a port and other rights of her own. The rebuilding of the Eleusinian sanctuaries had very peculiar claims upon the art of the Attic architects. It was here their task to construct for the worship of the Great Goddesses (which was one of the most important institutions of the state, and with the state had increased in fame and authority) a house of sufficient space to admit within its limits the whole body of the Initiated; in other words, a multitude such as on other occasions only assembled in open theatres and stadia. The edifice was numbered among the greatest works of the age of Pericles. Ictinus conducted the whole; Corœbus constructed and arranged the lower storey, a hall 170 feet square, with four rows of columns, which divided the interior space; on this Metagenes erected the upper group of columns, with the galleries; while Xenocles achieved a name for himself by inventing a new kind of cupolar covering for the opening made in the middle of the roof for the sake of light. Externally, the edifice was devoid of cloisters, solemn and complete in itself, with

* Welcker, *Gr. Götterlehre*, iii. 3, 28.

its rear close to the precipitous rock: on the other side it was enclosed by strong walls surrounding a double temple-court.

The Piræeus.

In the central plain of Attica the two great cities had, since the construction of the two parallel lines of wall by Pericles (p. 466), been inseparably united as a double city; but internally they were as unlike one another as possible. While Athens, hastily rebuilt amidst her ruins, as necessity demanded, was disorderly, devoid of plan, and full of narrow and crooked lanes; the Piræeus, on the other hand, was a modern city, with large open places, roomy cloistered halls, broad and rectangular streets—in its entirety a work of art the creation of Hippodamus (who had himself owned a house in the earlier Piræeus as an alien resident under the protection of the Attic state, but gladly sacrificed his property when, at the instigation of Pericles, he received the splendid commission of rebuilding the entire port-city within the walls built round it by Themistocles, after the fashion of a colony and in accordance with the rules of art). As fixed points, the height of Munychia (the acropolis of the port-town, with the sanctuary of Artemis) and the harbours were indicated to him. Of the three bays only the largest, the Piræeus proper, was adapted for forming the centre of the maritime city; because the other two were too narrow, and separated by rocky heights from the interior country. The Piræeus was marked off into two divisions; to the right of the entrance lay in a smaller bay the Cantharus, one of the three harbours for the reception of the triremes, with ninety-four houses for ships, and all arrangements necessary for the war-navy. The remaining northern part of the bay, double the other in size, served as a mercantile harbour, which was furnished with extreme splendour by Pericles. Its flat rim was encircled by moles, which were made to project far enough to facilitate as much as possible the loading and unloading of the vessels. Lesser piers ran out into the sea for the purpose of separating the ships into a division

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of groups, according to their different cargoes, admitting of an easy survey. Behind the broad rim of the shore rose the public halls, bordering the bay in a semicircle; and among them was particularly distinguished the corn-hall of Pericles, where the foreign corn was kept: further, the magazines, in which in return for a rent paid to the state the goods, even those which were to be shipped to other ports, found a place; the offices of the harbour-police and Customs-officers; the *Deigma* or Exchange, where the merchants and shipowners met, communicated to one another samples of their goods, transacted business, and concluded all kinds of bargains with one another (the documents of which were deposited in the care of the money-changers). In the same building also sat the mercantile tribunals, principally in winter, when trade was quiescent. Near at hand were public inns and taverns, which were let out by the state; and shops, furnished with the necessaries of sailors.

This whole quarter of the city, situate in the immediate vicinity of the sea, was entirely devoted to trade beyond the seas; it was the stapling-place and free port for the whole of Attica, where natives and foreigners held intercourse, and where, as at all busy sea-ports, stood a sanctuary of Athene. This trading port was strictly divided off from the Cantharus, whose boundaries might only be passed by the persons officially engaged there in the service of the state, and from the docks, naval arsenals, and triremes; however, the men-of-war lying at the entrance of the entire bay at the same time served the purpose of securing the mercantile navy, as well as the wharves filled with goods, against unexpected attacks from the sea. Both parts of the city, the mercantile harbour as well as that of war, were public property, and subject to no authority but that of the government.

The third division consisted of the inner town, which stood under the city-police of the Piræeus. Its boundaries were marked by stones with inscriptions, one of

which, belonging to the time of Hippodamus, is still preserved. On this boundary-line the goods imported for consumption in Attica paid duty; and thus the noisy crowd of foreigners and sailors was kept away from the inner town of the Piræeus. This town had its separate great market-place, "the market of Hippodamus," doubtless surrounded by cloisters; from which a broad street led straight up to the sanctuary of Artemis Munychia, past the theatre. The rows of houses were built in terraces resembling the tiers of an amphitheatre, on the declivities of the hill of the citadel looking towards the sea, and offered a wondrously imposing view to him who sailed into the gate of the harbour through the two towers, and cast his eyes over the Piræeus, admirably guarded, thronged with ships, and encircled by a succession of halls with resplendent columns. Pericles had here created a city by the sea which served as a model for the later plans of Rhodes, and even of Alexandria.

The western suburb: the Ceramicus and the Academy

Wholly different was the condition of the upper city. Here a thorough reconstruction was impossible; nothing could therefore be done beyond adorning the environs of the city; and, as in the case of many towns of antiquity, the suburbs were here, too, infinitely more attractive and splendid than the heart of the city itself. Since the times of the Pisistratidæ the population had constantly extended to the north and west (vol. i. p. 363): part of the ancient potters' district, or Ceramicus, had long become a quarter of the city; the other part remained suburb. Between the two lay the double-gate or *Dipylum*, the broadest and most splendid gate of the city, which fronted in this direction; and it agreed with the practice of the ancients, to bestow upon the main entrances of towns and temple-courts all possible ornament both of a grand and of a pleasing character. Here the broad carriage-road, which, avoiding all heights, ascended from the market-place of Hippodamus directly to the city-market of the Ceramicus, entered the city; from

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here straight to the west led the road to Eleusis, the sacred course of the festive processions, whose torches conducted Iacchus, the god of the Mysteries, to the sanctuaries of the great goddesses. From this road again, immediately outside the gate, branched off that which led to the Academy, the wooded low ground by the Cephisus, whose numberless veins of water pervade the entire soil and call forth a luxuriant vegetation, forming so refreshing a contrast to the barren rocks of the city, that at all times the townspeople desirous of shade and fresh air felt themselves attracted hither. Upon this, the favourite resort of the Athenians (since the destruction of the former gardens, which had existed in the age of the Tyrants—vol. i. p. 370), already Cimon had been eager to bestow new embellishments: to him the Academy owed the beautiful plantations of trees which served as an ornament to the gymnasium there. The high-roads in the vicinity of the city gates were everywhere bordered with numerous and handsome sepulchral monuments, in particular the road leading through the outer Ceramicus. Here lay the public burial-ground for the citizens who had fallen in war; the vast space was divided off into fields, corresponding to the different battlefields at home and abroad; for as already in Homer we read of the ashes of the dead being brought home as an act of piety, so the Athenians also considered it their duty to bury the remains of their fellow-citizens in their native earth. It appears that Cimon, after the battle of Drabescus (p. 363), was the first to establish this usage as a fixed rule, and that afterwards the remains of the Athenians were transferred to the Ceramicus even from the earlier battlefields (with the exception of Marathon, where the dead were regarded as local Heroes); so that the great cemetery with its sepulchral columns represented an entire history of the Attic campaigns.*

* As to the history of the public cemetery in the Ceramicus, see the author's treatise, *Zur Gesch. des Wegebaus* ("Contributions to the History of Road-Building"), page 58; and Vischer.

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The east-end of the city was the most quiet and secluded. Here the gate of Diochares led out to the Lyceum, the sacred locality of the worship of Apollo, near the right bank of the Ilissus, where Pericles, following the example of Pisistratus, caused a great gymnasium to be built. A third lay farther to the north, the Cynosarges, sacred to Heracles. These three great practising-grounds for the youth of Attica, by means of their halls, palæstræ, and stadia, their springs and groups of trees, formed one of the principal ornaments of Athens; they were not only the playgrounds of the young, but also a favourite resort of the grown men and of the aged, who here enjoyed their leisure. In proportion as the love of free culture spread among all classes of the population, the suburban gymnasia came more and more to be used for serious interviews among citizens connected by intellectual sympathies, and for a suggestive and instructive intercourse between men and youths.

The eastern suburb: the Lyceum.

But even within the walls of Athens there was no lack of opportunities for artistically laid-out walks; and since the liberation of the country much had been done to beautify the city in a manner corresponding to the wants and the taste of the age. In the cities of Ionia the Athenians had become acquainted with many pleasant and convenient devices, which they eagerly imitated. Since the victorious expeditions of Cimon the Athenians especially delighted in intramural galleries of columns, where the citizens, without losing the enjoyment of fresh air, might at all hours of the day and seasons of the year hold easy and comfortable intercourse with one another. Cimon knew that he could take no more effective means for gaining the favour of the people than by providing for the erection and artistic embellishment of such market-halls. The whole Ceramicus, which, since the time of the Tyrants, had become the centre of civic life, now received a totally different form. On the west side arose the marble hall of Zeus *Eleutherius*, with the

The inner city.

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colossus of the god, a monument of the Wars of Liberation, and the hall of the Archon-king (ἡ βασίλειος), an official building, in which a portion of the laws of Solon was also exhibited. On the opposite or east side arose the hall of Pisianax, which, through the exertions of Cimon, became the Picture Gallery (ποικίλη). On the north side the Agora remained shut off by Hermæ, but even these were converted into public and historical monuments. Thus, to the victors of the Strymon (p. 346) was accorded the honour of erecting in every row three Hermæ of marble, with metrical inscriptions referring to those victories: but neither the name of Cimon nor that of any other individual was allowed to be mentioned; the full honour was to belong to the entire people. While thus the Ceramicus gained dignity and importance in an uncommon degree by means of its enclosure, the inner space also was planted with plane-trees by the directions of Cimon; and aqueducts and wells were, of course, added. Not far from the market was the sanctuary of Theseus (founded by Cimon), the walls of which were adorned with frescoes from Heroic story.

The great theatre.

The south-eastern part of the city had also undergone important changes, particularly by the construction of the great theatre in the rock under the citadel (p. 526); which constituted one of the grandest edifices of Athens, and whose vastness made it very evident to every stranger that the encouragement of the arts was regarded as a matter of leading interest in the Attic state. From the north side, a street lined with consecrated tripods ascended to the theatre: each tripod was the monument of a victory obtained in the scenic competitions, and was more particularly marked as such by its inscription. The great sanctuary of Zeus, which had been built in the grandest style by the Tyrants on the terrace by the Ilissus (vol. i. p. 370), was doubtless again restored by the Tyrants after the war; and, according to an uncertain conjecture, Phidias

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was, in the first period of his artistic labours, engaged upon the frescoes of the cella of the temple. But thus much is certain, that this temple-edifice was subsequently neglected. Democratic Athens had no desire to complete a religious edifice which had originally been intended as a monument of the glories of the Tyrannis. On the other hand, Pericles built, at the south-eastern base of the citadel, the *Odeum*, which differed from the neighbouring theatre in this, that the former was a covered space, in which musical performances took place before a less numerous public. The roof, shaped like a tent, was accounted an imitation of the gorgeous tent pitched of old by Xerxes upon the soil of Attica. Nay, these favourite references to the Persian wars were carried so far that the masts of Persian vessels were said to have been used for the beams of the roof. The *Odeum* was built at a date preceding the banishment of Thucydides (p. 414).

The Odeum.

But the most important scene on which Pericles and Phidias developed their creative agency was the citadel. Here open space abounded. For in the period following upon the wars public attention had been chiefly directed to the lower town and the harbours, and it had been considered sufficient to restore the sanctuary of the city goddess out of its ruins. Hereupon Cimon commenced expending a portion of the spoils of victory upon the citadel. Here the Athenians themselves, when they pulled down the palaces of the Tyrants, had probably at the same time removed part of the fortifications which were to make the citadel a castle overawing the city itself. Cimon built above the theatre on the south side a new wall, which infinitely heightened the grandeur of the view of Athens from the sea: the Acropolis being at that time still regarded as a fortress. This idea changed when the great connecting walls were finished. Henceforth Athens needed no fortress within the walls, and the intention of Pericles

The Acropolis.

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was now to give another and peaceable significance to the Acropolis, and consummately to embellish the seat of the most ancient sanctuaries of Attica by all the resources of Attic art.

The most sacred spot on the citadel was at all times the double sanctuary of Posidon and Athene, on the northern rim of the flat of the citadel, where the priests of the house of the Butadæ administered the worship of the divinities united under one roof. The western half belonged to Posidon Erechtheus, the eastern half to Athene Polias. Under the roof of the temple were the tombs of Erichthonius and Cecrops.

We are without any information as to the measures which were taken in the age of Pericles for the adornment of this the national sanctuary proper of Attica. At all events the principal attention was directed to another structure, viz. to the splendid restoration of the *Hecatompedon* (vol. i. p. 368). This building was not the abode of a divinity, and in so far not a temple properly so called. Here were no sacred figure for worship, no priesthood, no regular sacrificial service, and no constantly-burning flame. But it was, notwithstanding, according to form and name a temple-edifice or *Naos;* for the forms of sacred architecture were extended to those buildings also which belonged to the worship of the gods in a less restricted sense. For, in proportion to the growth of public wealth and power, religious worship demanded new and larger localities, in order to preserve the increasing treasures of the deity and the vessels belonging to the festive processions, and to serve as the scene of certain solemnities. It was now decided at Athens to use the temple for a new purpose, viz. that of depositing in it the public treasure consecrated to the goddess of the state and administered in her name. Accordingly a great variety of ends were here served at the same time; and Pericles had occasion to erect on the highest point of the Acropolis, in place of the ancient Hecatompedon, a new festive

edifice and treasure-house, which, by blending intimately together the fulfilment of political and of religious ends, was to serve to represent the piety and artistic culture, the wealth and the festive splendour —in fine, all the glories which Athens had achieved by her valour and her wisdom.

The Parthenon.

After the plan of the great work had been designed by Pericles and his friends, and fully considered in every direction, great struggles supervened before its execution was effected. The party of Cimon made desperate efforts at resistance; and not until after their overthrow was Pericles, as the superintendent of public works, invested with the most extensive authority for concluding the contracts with the undertakers of the buildings, and for carrying out without delay the work which had already been commenced. For probably the work had been begun as early as Ol. lxxxiii. (B.C. 446 *circ.*); it was finished in Ol. lxxxv. 3 (B.C. 438). It is impossible to assume a shorter time to have been occupied by the building operations. The architect from whose design, sanctioned by Pericles and Phidias, the new Hecatompedon was erected, was Ictinus, who was seconded by Callicrates, the experienced architect of the double line of walls (p. 466). It was not intended to build an edifice which should attract attention by the colossal nature of its proportions or the novelty of its style. The traditions of the earlier building were followed, and its dimensions were not exceeded by more than 50 feet. In a breadth of 100 feet the edifice extended in the form of a temple, 226 feet from east to west; and the height, from the lowest stair to the apex of the pediment, amounted only to 65 feet.

Through the hall of Doric columns surrounding the whole edifice, the visitor, coming from the east, approached the entrance-hall, of six columns; from which again a lofty portal of bronze led into the interior space, the Hecatompedon properly so called, which was by a double row of columns divided lengthwise into three

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naves. Above was a second series of columns, forming a double gallery and supporting the stone ceiling. This ceiling, however, instead of extending over the whole length of the cella, was partly open, and admitted sufficient light from above to illuminate the entire space. Next to this cella, 100 feet deep, was the back part of the building (the *Opisthodomos*), an equilateral hall with four columns, opening into the western entrance-hall. But although the whole edifice in its divisions and entire architecture followed the earlier style of the Hellenes, yet a great progress was everywhere perceptible. For in architecture too the clear intelligence of the Athenians contrived to secure to them the results of all earlier steps of progress, and to combine these to a higher kind of unity. They built neither in the Doric nor in the Ionic style; but a kind of new or Attic style of architecture had been called into existence, which asserted itself in the harmony of the proportions, in the perfection of technical execution, and, above all, in the rich and expressive embellishments of the building by works of plastic art. In these the genius of Phidias asserted itself in all its fulness; because, instead of in this department merely conducting and guiding the labours of others, he was himself actively engaged as a creative artist, and produced a whole world of figures full of natural life and vigour. It is, of course, impossible to consider all the colossal statues—more than forty in number—and the 4,000 square feet of alto and basso-relievo, executed for the Hecatompedon within a brief space of years, to have been without exception chiselled by the hand of Phidias. Yet, however they may differ in details, these sculptures bear the evident impress of the same creative intellect; and all these various representations allow us to recognise a thoroughly developed school and internal connexion, so that we cannot but perceive the ruling intelligence of the master, in conformity with whose sketches and directions the individual works were executed.

The architectonic spaces adorned with sculptures were of a threefold kind; and a corresponding distinction as to style and execution also prevailed among the sculptures themselves. The grandest of these spaces was the great triangle formed by the oblique ledges of the roof on the shorter, *i.e.* the east and west, fronts of the building. The area of these pediments was filled with colossal sculptures, which, suitably to the locality, represented an action. (Of this action the main groups occupied the centre of the triangle, while towards either side, in gradually decreasing size, the nearer and the more distant participators in, and witnesses of, the action found each his place.) Here no other subject could be represented than the most important events of the native religion of Athene, to whom the whole edifice was consecrated. The area of the pediment on the east side was filled by the assembly of the Olympian gods, encircled by the divinities of daylight and night. In the midst of the Olympians appears Athene, newborn but perfectly matured, beautiful, and fully armed, by the side of her father Zeus the luminous centre of the great assembly; upon whom the gods and goddesses on either side gaze in wondering admiration. The western pediment, on the other hand, is marked out as Attic ground by the divinities of Attic rivers, who, as recumbent figures in the corners, bound the entire group. In the midst stands Athene, by the side of Posidon; the former accompanied by her following of Attic national divinities, the latter by the dæmons of the sea. They have been contending against one another for the prize of Athens. The contest is decided; the more savage god has to give way; but the fortunate land, the possession of which is an object of envy among the immortal gods, has received gifts of unperishing significance from either combatant, and to it even the contest has in the end brought blessings. Under the roof of the temple extends the architrave, which was adorned on either side with gold scutcheons on the two flank sides; and over this the

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triglyph frieze (p. 58). The surfaces of the metopes, let in between the triglyph blocks, were throughout adorned with sculptures, forming ninety-two tablets, nearly square in shape, each of which required a composition complete in itself. Phidias generally chose groups of combatants; battles between the divinities, particularly between Athene and the Gigantes; battles of the Heroes, fighting, as the prototypes of the youth of Attica, with their whole strength against the powers of rude force opposed to moral order in the life of the state—such as the Amazons, who are hostile to marriage, and the Centaurs, the disturbers of peace and robbers of women, the foes of Theseus, the founder of order and law. But deeds of peace were also represented, such as the establishment of sacred statutes on which the religious system of Attica was based.

Finally, within the circuit of columns a frieze passed along the outer walls of the cella, encircling them like a narrow band in a length of 528 feet. For a space of this kind no representation could be better adapted than that of a continuous procession of many figures—of a festive procession naturally connected with the building. Hence, no other than the Panathenæan festive procession could be made use of for the purpose. It was not, however, intended to give a faithful copy of it in marble. This would have deprived the inventive artist of freedom of selection; a solemn but wearisome repetition would have been inevitable; and any representation of the kind would have, as a feeble imitation, fallen far below the living reality. A representation of the preparations for the great festive procession appeared incomparably more imposing; for it offered evidence of the serious purpose animating the Athenians in the celebration of their festivals of state. Thus it became possible to introduce in a natural manner the groups of horsemen and four-horse chariots, the bands of sacrificers and musicians, the ministering personages, taken from the class of the *metœci*, and the officers of state whose

duty it was to superintend and regulate the whole. The gods themselves are seated in confidential proximity among the people, which honours them with so solemn an ardour.*

These grand temple-sculptures display to us in full figures and in relief the plastic art of Attica, with the peculiar character impressed upon it by Phidias. In the sculptures in relief a clear distinction of style is equally recognisable. For from the surface of the metopes the gymnastic figures spring out in vigorous alto-relievo, so that their bodies occasionally stand forth perfectly free from the background; while on the frieze, on the other hand, the figures rise only a few lines' breadth from the surface, and the eye glances along them as along a drawing. We have here the gentle flow of an epic representation; while in the groups of the pediments our eye is met by dramatic movement, culminating in a highly significant phase of action. The growth of Attic sculpture is due to the treatment of the marble; and this fact is already apparent at the stage to which the art had attained in the age of Pericles. Hence the calm which characterises the figures, the breadth of their forms, the greater fulness of the bodies of stone, as contrasted with the comparative slimness, lightness, and boldness of the figures produced by those schools of art whose works were for the most part executed in bronze. But in proportion as the artist is, when working in marble, more fettered by the exigencies of his material, and precluded from the representation of motions equal in boldness to those which the bronzefounder may reproduce, it becomes his object to express motion and life in the very midst of calm. The life visible in sculptures of marble is an inner and spiritual calm; the sculptor is able to give to the features of the countenance an expression of greater depth, which arrests the sympathy of the beholder, whose eye in looking on figures of bronze passes rapidly over the single limbs

* See Note XLI. Appendix.

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of the body, and is wont to judge the work of art only according to the total impression made upon him by its corporeal forms. The art of animating the marble was in the school of Phidias brought to the highest perfection attainable by man. Traces are still discernible of the vigour of drawing peculiar to the earlier school, as well as of the sharp definition of the component parts; but there remains none of the hardness and stiff symmetry which characterised its productions; the beholder perceives the breath animating the limbs of the statue, and in the glorified figures in the pediment divines a trace of the blissful life of the Olympian gods. In the metopes the influence of the Peloponnesian schools upon Attic art is more clearly apparent, with respect to the composition of the groups of combatants. Peculiarly Attic again, on the other hand, is the style of the frieze. Its beauty consists in the utter absence of any apparent attempt at effect, instead of which we find a simple and straightforward use of popular characteristics. This style of representation, which effects so much with so small resources, was also best adapted for passing into the pursuit of art as a trade; and the numberless tombstones, representing man and wife, or parents and children in familiar groupings, clearly display the same character of the Attic basso-relievo, as it was expressed and fixed under the eyes of Phidias in the frieze of the Hecatompedon. Common to all species of Attic temple-sculpture is its subordination to the laws of architecture. For here, as in tragedy and in the paintings of Polygnotus, we find a high measure of intellectual liberty, balanced by an equally high measure of restriction. Everywhere geometric spaces of a fixed and often very inconvenient form are prescribed to the sculptor. But nowhere is this outer frame used as an oppressive limit; the prescribed space is most successfully filled up without any appearance of the sculptor having suffered under forcible restrictions.

At the same time art might claim opportunities

Religious sculpture.

for presenting herself in perfect independence and freedom from any special service; and such a position was necessary for art, if she was to be an exponent of the ideas of Attic religion in conformity with the spirit of the times. For together with its consciousness the nation also developes its conception of its gods, to whom it attributes the eminent powers and qualities of which it has itself become conscious; and it is the mission of art to realise corporeally these conceptions of superior refinement and deeper meaning. But the art of the Periclean era had received a very definite and religious mission. For the spirit of rationalism had everywhere shaken the popular faith; and a thoughtless life, devoid of any but the traditionary notions, was no longer possible. Philosophic thought had loudly and vehemently rebelled against the unthinking worship of idols. "They pray to images," said Heraclitus, "as if a man were to hold converse with houses;" and the same philosopher had resigned in favour of his brother his hereditary priestly office. A dangerous rupture was at hand, unless the ancient faith were purified and elevated, after a fashion in accordance with the age. In religion, too, room must be given to free thought, so as to satisfy the progress of human consciousness, and to reconcile the traditions of the past with the rationalism of the present. Mediators in this sense appeared in the persons of the great poets of Athens—in Æschylus, the firm believer in the religion of his fathers, and in the pious Sophocles: their sentiments were shared by Pericles, who, notwithstanding his philosophy, publicly and in his own house zealously offered sacrifices to the gods, and never entered upon any operation of importance without prayer. Phidias worked in the same spirit, by elevating religious sculpture, for which Attica had been distinguished from an early age, into a totally new sphere; and this is the side of his labours as an artist which obtained for him by far the highest glory among both contemporaries and posterity.

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True, the gods object to an alteration of the forms under which they are worshipped by the people; nor could Phidias think of substituting new statues for the ancient wooden figure of Athene. But images might be created which were to be neither objects of adoration nor superstitiously venerated pledges of divine grace, like the ancient hideous figures of wood, but were yet religious images, in so far as they represented the nature and being of the divinity, and inclined the minds of men to feelings of piety. Such statues were owing to the divinity as dedicatory gifts, by means of which the citizens marked their gratitude for every increase in prosperity and glory, obtained by them through the beneficence of their protecting divinity. In this matter, therefore, it was right to set in motion all the resources at the command of art, in order to honour the goddess in the gift, and the city in the goddess.

Athene Promachos or Parthenos.

Thus Phidias in the first place produced the Athene *Promachos*, a colossus more than fifty feet in height, which proved that in bronzefounding also the Attic school was no longer surpassed by any other. It stood on the citadel under the open sky, between the gate of the citadel and the ancient temple of Athene, on a mighty pedestal; and represented the warlike goddess with spear and outstretched shield in hand: the golden point of the spear and the floating helmbush were the first signals by which vessels sailing from the direction of Sunium recognised the Attic citadel. Immoveable dignity and lofty courage were expressed in the figure of the goddess; she was the ideal followed by the race of the warriors of Marathon; and from the spoils of that battle the statue had been dedicated in the time of Aristides' death and the rise of the authority of Pericles.

Athene Promachos was the goddess of the Athens of Cimon,—the "champion" of Hellas. In the age of Pericles the idea of the state both widened and deepened, and with it the conception of the protecting goddess of the state. The design of the Hecatompedon

had included the erection in the latter of a new statue of Athene; a work of colossal splendour, destined to call forth astonishment and admiration, and to bear full witness to the wealth of the great trading city, to the flourishing culture of arts within her walls, and to the union of religious and political feelings animating her citizens. Therefore simple materials were disdained, and the most splendid of all species of plastic representation chosen—the work in gold and ivory. Works of this kind went far beyond the narrower limits of plastic art. For although the main task remained to the sculptor, of conceiving the idea of the whole and expressing it in corporeal forms, yet it was at the same time a problem in architecture to construct the strong scaffolding which formed the wooden skeleton of the colossus; to combine efficiently and permanently the many and various component parts of the latter; and to erect the whole work in such a way that the surrounding localities served clearly to bring out the gigantic proportions of the divine figure, without any want of just proportions becoming apparent. Finally, the total impression of the work also greatly depended on the splendour and harmony of the colouring. The mild lustre of the plates of ivory forming the nude parts of the surface was heightened by the effulgency of the gold; the selection of the variegated precious stones for the eyes, the colouring of the cheeks and hair, the distribution of light and shade in the arrangement of the drapery—all this and much else required the experienced artistic taste of a painter.

Such a work of art—of sculpture, architecture, and painting combined—was the Athene of Phidias. She was for the most part regarded as virgin, "*Parthenos;*" as the chaste, unapproachable daughter of Zeus, in whose person were expressed the wisdom and deep thought of her father. She is the goddess of the Athenians' home; therefore the serpent of the citadel, the symbol of the land, was seen winding his

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coils on her left: she is the warlike goddess, with helmet, shield, and spear, and the bringer of victory, with a figure of *Nice* on her stretched-out right hand; but her attitude is calm and peaceable, not bold or provocative; with bent brow she casts a calm and collected glance before her; alone she stands, but needing no helper; her features are gentle and open; and the helmet under which the ample locks flow forth is marked by the symbols of sphinx and griffins, signifying power of thought and quickness of intelligence. Hence this Athene was no allegorical figure (like those by which in ancient and in modern times it has been attempted to personify a country or city), but the figure of a goddess, who had from the first beginnings of the state been its protecting deity; but this divine figure was adorned with all the great qualities of which Athens felt conscious, and with all the virtues which were to distinguish the Attic citizen. By his success in thus bringing before the eyes of the people its gods, and at the same time satisfying the demands of the best men in that people, Phidias attained to the position of a legislator in the domain of religious art; the artist acquired the authority of a theologian who is held to have broadened the basis and ennobled the character of the religion of preceding generations; his works resembled revelations of the Divine, and attained to a universal recognition: because, instead of an arbitrary innovator in accordance with his personal tastes, he was a creator of a new style springing from the inmost spirit of the people, and in consonance with the people's poets, with Homer in particular. Therefore, although his works were genuinely Attic, they at the same time possessed a national character: in this instance again Attic art was the consummation of all earlier steps, and the efforts of the Athens of Pericles met with the most gratifying acknowledgment, when her artists were also summoned to Olympia, and when their hands produced the statue of Zeus in that

spot, a statue invested with yet greater splendour than that of the *Parthenos*, and which for all times remained the type and ideal of the Hellenic Zeus among all the Hellenes.

The Panathenæa.

The *Hecatompedos*, or *Parthenon* (for it went by this name also as the house of Athene *Parthenos*), was very closely connected with the festival of the *Panathenæa*, whose splendour and dignity had gradually risen by degrees together with those of the state. In the ancient city of the Eupatridæ, the Panathenæa had been merely festive games of chivalry, held in honour of the goddess; next, the gymnastic games were added (vol. i. p. 356); hereupon ensued the radical reforms effected by the Pisistratidæ, who founded the "great Panathenæa," into which they introduced the Rhapsodes and their art. These institutions continued in force after the restoration of the constitution; but henceforth the celebration of this festival was combined with that of the anniversary of the Tyrant's death, and of the memorable deed of Harmodius and Aristogiton. New festivities were added, being inserted before the older; and finally, as regulator of the festivals, Pericles introduced the competitive production of musical performances. Since that time a cycle of six days' solemnities was probably held, in which the whole civic body of every class might participate, and every art which flourished in the state display itself. The festival commenced with the performances in the Odeum, where the masters of song and recitation, and the cither- and flute-players, exhibited their skill, the choral songs being produced in the theatre. Hereupon followed the gymnastic games, which, besides the usual contests in the stadium, foot-race, wrestling-matches, &c., also included the torch-race, which was held in the Ceramicus outside the Dipylum, when no moon shone in the heavens; and which formed one of the chief attractions of the whole festival. The performers in most of these games were arranged in different degrees of age, as boys,

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youths, and men; and the combatants entered partly in their own name, partly in that of the tribes: the former receiving as prizes vessels of earthenware, containing Attic oil; the latter mere honorary gifts, which were devoted to the goddess in the name of the victorious tribe. The ten civic tribes were also in constant emulation with one another, as to which could furnish the most beautiful and the strongest men in the prime of life and in old age. In the vicinity of the Piræeus was the *Hippodrome*, where the contests of riders and four-horse chariots took place; and off the shore of the Piræeus the races between the triremes were held: and to the tribe whose ships of war had proved the best, money was paid for purchasing sacrificial oxen for a solemn thanksgiving. After the termination of all the games, the Panathenæa were concluded on the last day but two of the month of Hecatombæon (the day sacred to Athene), by the great procession which assembled at sunrise in the Ceramicus, and thence ascended to the citadel. As on the lesser Panathenæa a robe was annually offered to the goddess, which Attic maidens had woven under priestly supervision, and in which the ancient wooden figure was newly clad on the birthday of the goddess; so on the great Panathenæa also a splendid robe, fastened sailwise to a ship moving on wheels, was borne up to the citadel. On this piece of tapestry were woven the deeds of the goddess as well as events of the national history, and even the portraits of citizens who had deserved well of the city. This solemn procession was joined by the victors of all the previous days, the handsomest and strongest Athenians of all ages, in chariots, on horseback and on foot, splendidly equipped, crowned with wreaths and arranged in solemn order,—the flower of the civic community presenting itself to the divinity of the state. But the strength and extent, too, of that state's dominion manifested themselves in the Panathenæan procession. For the citizens were followed by the aliens resident in

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Attica, under the protection of the state, who undertook the performance of certain services, and had to bear sunshades, chairs, gorgeous vases, saucers, pitchers, &c., being thus reminded of their own dependent condition; while all the colonies of Athens were represented by deputations, whose duty it was to offer cattle and sheep to the goddess. The envoys of foreign cities were also frequently invited to Athens at this time, so as to be present at this the most splendid exhibition of her power and wealth; and in general, whoever wished to see Athens, chose for that purpose the season of the great Panathenæa.

The Parthenon as a treasury.

For the purposes of this festival Pericles had built the *Odeum*, which was finished about Ol. lxxxiv. 1 (B.C. 444); for the same festival he built the *Hecatompedos*; and it was the grandest celebration of the Panathenæa ever witnessed by the Athenians, when in Ol. lxxxv. 3 (B.C. 438) the edifice was finished in all its splendour, and the *Parthenos* of Phidias first showed herself to the assembled people through the great portal of the cella. The administration of the finances was also regulated in accordance with the Panathenæa, as far as the Parthenon as the treasury of state formed the centre of the public finances. The treasury was distributed among the different halls. In the entrance-hall (*Proneïon*), whose columns were connected by lattice-work, stood gold and silver bowls, consecrated basins, lamps, and other highly-ornamented vessels; the cella itself was separated into two divisions for dedicatory gifts, viz. that of the *Hecatompedos* and that of the *Parthenon*, of which the latter was in the more immediate vicinity of the *Parthenos*-statue; lastly, in the *Opisthodomos* lay the treasure of the republic in bullion and coined metal. The *Parthenos* herself formed part of the treasure—for her robe of gold weighed forty talents, and constituted a capital at the disposal of the state in case of necessity.

The growth of the public treasure called for the exercise over it of an accurate control. For this

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purpose two kinds of financial documents were prepared by the treasurers; in the first place, statements of the sums expended out of the *Opisthodomos* for public purposes, and again inventories of the objects of value preserved in the three other halls of the temple, which were paid over and weighed out by one board of treasurers to the other (p. 482): besides what had been handed over from their predecessors, they noted down what had been added in the last years; their lists being always made out for a financial period of four years, dating from one Panathenæan festival to the next. These documents, which were engraved in marble and exposed to view at the Parthenon, commence with the fourth year after the conservation of the latter, *i.e.* Ol. lxxxvi. 3 (B.C. 434); and from the same time dates another important reform in the administration and keeping of the public moneys. Up to that date none but the treasures belonging to the goddess of the citadel had been deposited in the Parthenon, the treasures of the other national temples being left in the hands of their respective colleges of priests (p. 481). Now, it was decreed by the people, that the funds of all the national divinities should be transferred to the citadel, and general financial officers appointed for their administration with the title of "treasurers of the other gods." The object of this innovation can have been no other than that of effecting a more perfect centralisation of all the money-resources of the state; the latter henceforth had the temple-treasures of the land completely under its control, and in cases of necessity could freely dispose of them. Henceforth the treasure-hall of the great temple of the citadel was separated into two divisions; to the right of the entrance lay the moneys of Athene, to the left those of the other gods, each being under a separate board of treasurers.*

* See A. Kirchhoff's remarks on the documents of the treasurers of "the other gods." To him is due the assignment of the proper date to the popular decree formerly placed in Ol. xc. 3 (by Bœckh).

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But the inner hall of the cella was also used for the festive solemnities of the Panathenæa. In it, at the feet of Athene *Parthenos*, sat the officers of state and judges of the contests; here the victors received their wreaths and gifts of honour in the sight of the goddess; while a chosen festive assembly filled the lower space of the cella, and songs of praise and rejoicing sounded from the upper galleries, to which the stairs on either side of the great statue led up. As in the temple at Olympia, so in and near the Parthenon, we everywhere meet with references to the competitive contests which were the very soul of the state of Pericles. Among these must be numbered the figure of *Nice* (Victory), who, borne aloft in the hand of the *Parthenos*, welcomed the victors; and again the prize-vases on the height of the pediment and the scutcheons on its architrave. The areas of the pediment represent Athene herself as the goddess who leads the way and brings victory in heaven and on earth; in the metopes the Heroes are represented in victorious contests, and on the frieze the Athenians as the foremost of the Hellenes in valour and piety. After the conclusion of the great festival, the gates were again shut and sealed, and the Parthenon was once more simply the treasury; the shell of the statue of Athene was removed, and the statue itself covered up; the figure of Victory was taken down; and the treasurers alone were busy in the temple paying out of the *Opisthodomos* the moneys for the current expenses, and receiving and putting away all contributions in money and dedicatory gifts.

The Parthenon as a hall of festival.

Such was the connexion between the edifice, which more visibly than anything else marks the spirit of Periclean Athens, and the great Panathenæa. It was a cult, of which the state itself was the centre, and a festival, the nature of which and of all its belongings was of an essentially political character. Accordingly, even after this new edifice had been erected, the temple of Athene *Polias* (vol. i. p. 300) was left

The temple of Athene Polias.

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standing, as the sanctuary proper of the citadel and the central point of the religion of Athene,—the place where the priests and citizens offered sacrifices, and where were the tombs of the national Heroes, with the chamber of the serpent-shaped Erichthonius, the sacred olive-tree, and the spring of Posidon. To this temple and its ancient wooden figure were devoted the festivals on the citadel of a purely religious nature, the *Callynteria* and *Plynteria* (when the sanctuary was purified), as well as the annual *Panathenæa* (when the robe of Athene woven under the superintendence of priests was offered to the goddess as a birthday-gift).*

Other sanctuaries and characters of Athene.

By the side of the *Polias*, under the same roof, was worshipped *Pandrosos*, the goddess of the dew, and originally Athene herself: subsequently, after she had come to be less and less viewed in reference to her connexion with the life of nature, and more in her ethico-political significance, *Pandrosos* was adored as a Heroic personage, the primitive priestess of Athene. Athene owned a sanctuary close to the Parthenon in her character of *Ergane*, i.e. mistress of women's artistic work. As armed city goddess her title was *Promachos*, as guardian of the citadel Κληδοῦχος (holder of the keys); she was the goddess of victory, Athene Νίκη, and of peace founded upon the struggle and the victory; she was further worshipped as the motherly goddess who takes children into her care, as the founder of the cultivation of the olive, as the sender of fertility to the soil, as the inventress of the plough and the breeding of horses, and as *Hygiea* or goddess of health. To Athene *Hygiea* Pericles himself dedicated an altar on the citadel, after she had pointed out to him in a dream the remedy for saving the life of an efficient workmaster, who had met with an accident during the progress of the building. Thus the goddess

* See Bötticher as to the internal arrangement of the Parthenon, in the *Philologus*, xviii. 177. As to the cycle of the festivities at the great Panathenæa, see Sauppe, *Inscr. Panathen.* 1858, and Mommsen, *Heortologie*, page 116 f.

was considered to take a personal interest in the grand activity which under the eyes of Pericles unfolded itself on the citadel; she filled the Acropolis with all the various phases of her being.

The Propylæa.

In order to complete the buildings on the Acropolis in a manner worthy of the state, there was needed in the last instance a new entrance-portal, which should mark out the entire district of the citadel as a festive locality sacred to Athene. This, by the side of the Odeum and the Hecatompedos or Parthenon, constituted the third great architectural creation of Pericles; viz. the halls of the portal, or *Propylæa*, together with the staircase ascending to them. The architect of the Propylæa was Mnesicles. His task was to span the western end of the rock of the citadel, where alone the latter is accessible, with an edifice intended to complete the boundary line of the citadel at its narrowest point, but at the same time to provide it with a worthy and solemn beginning. A row of Doric columns, with a pediment in the form of a temple, received the visitor on ascending. He next entered a hall fifty feet deep, whose splendid marble roof was supported by six Ionic columns. This hall was shut by a wall running horizontally across it, and with five gates of lattice-work, forming the entrance (open or closed at will) to the citadel. Passing out of this, the visitor again entered another Doric hall of six columns, and through it the inner space of the citadel. From the right and left side of the central building of the Propylæa, the portal proper, a wing projected to the right and left, for the purpose of completing the edifice bounding the rock of the citadel: the northern wing comprehended the chamber painted with frescoes by Polygnotus, the *Pinacothece*. Either wing opened by halls of columns towards the broad open staircase, which led in a gentle ascent to the hall of the portal and united the upper with the lower city. To the right of this ascent the wall of Cimon (p. 565) projected, with a bastion resembling a tower, towards the

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staircase; but with this exception every reminiscence of the ancient fortress was removed. The Acropolis of Athens opened its hospitable galleries of columns to all who wished to visit the temples and festivals of the Athenians; rising from the lower city, as the crown of the whole, like a great dedicatory offering, with its colossi, temples, and halls, and with the marble edifice of the Propylæa shining like a precious frontlet on its brow.*

General activity of art-industry at Athens.

If we wish to measure the importance of these edifices in its full extent, we must not omit to remember the extraordinary variety of the artistic and industrious activity involved in their completion. The very transport of the materials was the occasion of great progress in mechanical science in that inventive age; a department in which, above all the other contemporaries of Pericles, Artemon achieved a high reputation (p. 473). All artisans in any wise engaged in the great works of art—the architects, carpenters, sculptors, smiths, bronze-founders, stone-masons, dyers; the goldsmiths, who prepared the metal for covering the wood; and the workers in ivory, who contrived to give such pliability to the brittle material that it easily closed round the wooden scaffolding; the painters, carvers in wood, workers in tapestry, embroiderers in gold and silver, the gem-cutters, &c.—all had their share in the brilliant developement of art at Athens; each one was thereby advanced in his profession and qualified for a higher style of work. The remains of art most incontestably prove, how even artistic industry was animated by a higher life; even in apparently insignificant *terra cotta*, and sepulchral relieved work, it is, notwithstanding the artisan-like character of the execution, easy to perceive the fine sense of form, the clearness of exposition, the calmness and serenity, the moral dignity, which distinguished the works of Phidias. His workshops were a school exercising a comprehensive and enduring influence upon the people. Previously the

* See Note XLII. Appendix.

various branches of art-industry had been cultivated by native families, in whom each particular art descended from father to son. We find instances of this kind of cultivation of art in music and poetry (*e.g.*, in the families of Simonides, Bacchylides, Pindar, Stesichorus, Sophocles, and others), and similarly in the case of all the plastic arts. In the latter a particularly important influence was exercised by family connexion, which greatly aided a secure and continuous advance towards the perfection of technical skill. In this respect again the age of Pericles was a real period of transition, inasmuch as the barriers of family tradition, in so far as they were able to exercise an obstructive effect, were at that time removed; for not only was competition thrown perfectly open among the civic community, but from abroad also artists arrived to take part in the general rivalry of talents and industry at Athens. Contemporaneously with Polygnotus the Thasian, Nicanor and Arcesilas, two Parian painters, worked at Athens: and subsequently the same island (which on account of its wealth of marble was particularly productive of excellent sculptors) sent Agoracritus, one of the favourite pupils of Phidias; Colotes, whom the great master esteemed as one of his most skilful fellow-labourers; Thrasymedes, Locrus, and Aristander, the father of the celebrated Scopas. All found a new home and a sphere of labours and fame at Athens; and it may accordingly be said with truth, that never has a national artistic life unfolded itself under more propitious circumstances.

Effects of art and art-industry at Athens.

The arts of the Hellenes, which had freely grown up in the most various localities of the common country, were here for the first time united for the purpose of services of real grandeur, under the protection of the wealthiest state, under the guardianship of the most intelligent of patrons, whose will absolutely disposed of all the resources of the state, and under the guidance of a superior genius, commanding all the departments of plastic art. In the Athens of Pericles it was

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possible for a general emulation to respond to the beneficent influence of a strong supreme guidance, and for the works ordered by the state to be executed with a voluntary enthusiasm, which by no means remained confined to the artistic world. For the Athenian people, partial both to work and to gain, took delight in the busy stir occasioned by the public works of Pericles. Materials of all kinds had to be brought to hand—metals, ivory, precious stones, and foreign kinds of wood. All classes took part in the public artistic activity,—from the artist, who in solitude matures his ideas and prepares his designs, through all classes of merchants, tradesmen, and artisans, down to the miners and road-builders, the wheelwrights, rope-makers, and waggoners, whose business it was to transport the innumerable blocks of marble to the height of the citadel. All kinds of gain proceed from the state; and all classes of men are mixed up in the pursuit of public objects. The capitalists are well satisfied, because opportunities constantly increase for investing their money advantageously; and because they are constantly able to raise the rent of their houses, and the rate of hire-money for their ships and slaves. The peasants are contented, because the price of land and of its products becomes higher. Even those who are wholly without means are supplied by the state, not as city-paupers, but as citizens, taking an active part in the public undertakings.

Thus the general prosperity of the civic community was advanced in such a degree, that it would have of itself sufficed to make the multitude assent to the political system and measures of Pericles, even had that multitude not been at the same time pervaded by the feeling that the great public works, more than anything else, contributed to the glory of their native city. Even the least among the services performed were ennobled by being contributions for such public objects as these. A loftier patriotism communicated itself to the citizens, when they saw their native

city adorned, before all other towns, with the noblest works of art: and as these works, notwithstanding their splendour, were characterised by a lofty simplicity, and one and all pervaded by elevating ideas, they could not but exercise an educating and refining influence upon the minds of those who witnessed their gradual completion, and who afterwards had them constantly before their eyes. For they exercise a power which raises man above the narrow limits of his personal circumstances, and obliges him to conceive highly and worthily of the state which can create such things, as well as of his own duties as a citizen. But even those who could not look upon the state with the love and admiration of an Attic citizen, even the subjects and the foreigners, could not withdraw themselves from the impression produced by the glories of Athens: the former necessarily found it easier to obey such a city; while the others acknowledged, that all the pursuits for which the Hellenes were distinguished, intellectual culture and high art, had found their full developement at Athens; so that whoever appreciated these, could not but take pride in Athens as the capital of Greece, and in a certain sense regard himself as an Athenian. This was the end which Pericles desired; Athens was to prove herself worthy to rule over Hellenes: and the employment of the public resources for this purpose was in truth no waste; inasmuch as not only was its present result a spread of prosperity and contentment, but as in these works of art an inalienable treasure was gained for Athens, a capital from which the city drew interest up to the latest times. No statesman, therefore, ever achieved material advantages of more lasting importance for his city than Pericles. But neither was her future glory absent from that great man's mind; it was his wish that memorials of her greatness should exist which should survive her history, and that even in distant centuries the Acropolis should speak of the age of Pericles.

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The works at the Propylæa were carried on with increasing haste from Ol. lxxxv. 4 to Ol. lxxxvi. 4 (B.C. 437—433). It was felt that the period of leisure and peace was coming to an end; and before the edifice was completely finished, the war broke out, which claimed for its purposes the entire resources of the state.*

* For the document as to the construction of the Propylæa, see Bœckh, *Pub. Ec. of Ath.* vol. ii. page 441 (Engl. Transl.); and Kirchhoff.

APPENDIX.*

Note I. *p.* 206.—Herodotus narrates all the events from the reception of the Median envoys at Ægina (vi. 49) up to the naval battles fought by the Æginetans and Athenians (c. 92 f.) in an uninterrupted succession, expressly mentioning, as belonging to a later date, only the robberies perpetrated by the Æginetans settled on Sunium (c. 90), and stating these occurrences to have been merely incidentally admitted into his narrative. This has enabled Clinton, O. Müller, and K. Fr. Hermann, to place the date of the death of Cleomenes in the year B.C. 491, Ol. lxxvii. 2: and Müller (*Æginetica*, p. 118) assumes that the conflicts related c. 92 f. were interrupted by the expedition of Datis and Artaphernes, referring to these wars the Ἀθηναίων τάφος, οἳ πρὶν ἢ στρατεῦσαι τὸν Μῆδον ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας (Paus. i. 29, 5); and supposing that the hostages of the Æginetans were exchanged for the crew of the sacred vessel. It is, however, impossible to find room for the multitude of events narrated by Herodotus in the brief space of time between the Median embassy and the battle of Marathon. It is, moreover, evident that at the period of the law concerning the mines (p. 233) the feud still continued; and it is further impossible to assign to the several feuds with any certainty their place *before* or *after* the battle of Marathon. The only event among those related by Herodotus, the date of which can be fixed by means of other evidence, is the accession to the throne of Leotychides, who was in office twenty-two years (Diodor. ix. 48); his successor is Archidamus, to whom are assigned forty-two years (Diodor. ix. 48, xii. 35). Inasmuch as Archidamus is still in command of the army in B.C. 428 (Thuc. iii. 1), and in B.C. 426 Agis occupies that office (*id.* iii. 89), Archidamus must have died in B.C. 427 or in the early part of B.C. 426. Accordingly, the date of his accession is B.C. 469 or 468, and that of the accession of Leotychides B.C. 491 or 490. Hence in any case the outbreak of the Æginetan war must have preceded the battle of

* [The quotations from the English Translation of Bœckh's *Public Economy of Athens* refer to Murray's edition in two vols. (1828.)—Tr.]

Marathon; while Grote (vol. iii. p. 232) places the commencement of the feud between Athens and Ægina B.C. 488, and Duncker (*Gesch. d. Alt.* iv. 694) assigns to the same year the death of Cleomenes. I cannot see sufficient grounds upon which to found this view, or the opinion that Cleomenes died a natural death.

Note II. p. 209.—According to the statement in Plutarch (*Aristid.* 2), Aristides and Themistocles were brought up and instructed together; according to Ælian (*Ver. Hist.* iii. 2), Themistocles as a schoolboy refuses to make way in the road for Pisistratus. Thus Themistocles would have been born, at the latest, Ol. lxi. 2 (B.C. 535). But if the account is correct, according to which Themistocles attained to the age of sixty-five (Plut. *Them.* 31), and if the year of his death, as will be subsequently shown, must have fallen after Ol. lxxix. 1 (B.C. 465), the only mode of reconciling these statements is by supposing the anecdote of Themistocles' boyhood to refer not to Pisistratus himself, but (as in many other cases, where the different members of the dynasty are confused with one another) to the sons of the Tyrant. In that case the year of Themistocles' birth would about coincide with that of Pisistratus' death. Of Aristides we only know that about the time of Clisthenes' reforms he was a young man of age. There is accordingly no reason for dating his birth many years before the death of Pisistratus. Cf. Kleinert, *Beitr. Dorpat*, ii. 213.

Note III. *p.* 213.—The *locus classicus* as to the construction of the Attic harbour (Thuc. i. 93) was formerly generally understood to imply that the three harbours signified three inner compartments of the Piræeus harbour. The fact was overlooked that the Piræeus, in the more general sense of the term, also signified the entire peninsula, as is manifest from Paus. i. 1, 2, and Strabo, p. 58. After my demonstration on this point in *De Portubus Athenarum*, p. 44, there was no room left for Phalerus, which as one of the members of the ancient Dodecapolis must have had its own citadel-height in the locality which had hitherto been assigned to it; accordingly Ulrichs transferred Phalerus to where formerly Cape Colias had been placed; and thus, by giving the finishing blow to the erroneous notion of a tripartite Piræeus harbour, correctly arranged the topography of the Attic harbours, although a few points of difficulty still remain unsolved. For the rest, the roads of Phalerus were at an earlier period doubtless in still closer proximity to the city, although the statement of twenty stadia in Paus. viii. 10 is corrupt or inaccurate.

Note IV. *p.* 214.—According to Bœckh's emendation of the words of Philochorus in Hesychius, s. v. Ἀγοραῖος (*Abhandl. der Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1827, p. 131), the Hermes Agoræus was consecrated under the archonship of Hybrilides, after in the previous year (Ol. lxxii. 1, B.C. 493-2) the construction of the port had been begun; and Ol. lxxxi. 4 (B.C. 494-3), under the archonship of Themistocles, the resolution had been passed and the first preliminary measures had been taken. As to the locality of the Hermes

Agoræus, see E. Curtius, *Attische Studien*, ii. 35. (*Abhandl. der K. Ges. der Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, 1865.)

Note V. *p.* 222.—It is my belief that the course of the battle of Marathon is only to be explained as above (as I have endeavoured to show in *Gött. Gel. Aug.* for 1859, p. 2013).—As to the absence of the cavalry, an express tradition is preserved to us in Suidas (χωρὶς ἱππεῖς). Finlay (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Liter.* iii. 373, 385) thinks that the cavalry was numerically so insignificant that it could play no decisive part in the battle (for what purpose, then, was it included in the Persian armada?), and that this cavalry happened to be absent on a foraging expedition in Tricorythus (how, then, could it afterwards have got on board the ships?). That different accounts were given of the battle of Marathon, and that in this case also there existed a more sober and less boastful view of events, is attested by Theopomp. *Fr. Hist. Gr.* i. 306.—As to the participation of the slaves in the battle, cf. Herbst (*Die Schlacht b. d. Arginus*, 1855, iv. 20); who, however, finds it scarcely possible to prove even from Pausanias (viii. 15, 4) that liberated slaves fought in the ranks of the Attic hoplites. See Bœckh, *Pub. Econ. of Athens*, vol. i. p. 343 (Eng. Tr.).—The *disposition* of the tribes was not, as Grote thinks (iv. 472), connected with the fact that Marathon belonged to the Æantis, but rather with the personal descent of Callimachus, as Grote has (*ib.*) rightly conjectured. Where the polemarch stood, there stood also his tribe; and the polemarch commanded the right wing. (Sauppe is of the same opinion.) The order of the nine other tribes was fixed by lot; thus the Leontis and Antiochis stood together in the centre.—The *signal of the shield* on the Pentelicon is an indubitable fact; the charge brought against the Alcmæonidæ is rejected by Herodotus (vi. 123) as a calumny.—As to the *date* assigned to the battle, it is based upon the chronological enquiries of Bœckh (*z. Gesch. d. Mondcyklen*, s. 65), in the results of which, notwithstanding Grote, only a few secondary points are still open to doubt. The date of the battle in Plutarch (6th Boëdromion) is to be explained from the confusion (of frequent occurrence) between the thanksgiving celebration and the day of the battle; the festival was not celebrated until after several public assemblies, and after perfect tranquillity had been restored. The battle took place immediately after the full moon next preceding the 6th of Boëdromion, *i.e.* in Metagitnion, which began with the new moon of August 26th. On the ninth day of the moon's increase Phidippides arrived at Sparta (Herod. vi. 105); the Spartans set out after the full moon of the current month (their *Carneus*); the date of the Spartan festival of the full moon is Sept. 9th. They start on the 10th, and reach Athens on the 13th, one day after the battle (Plat. *Leg.* 698); therefore the battle fell on September 12th (17th Metag.). Possible irregularities in the calendar in August and September would change the date by a few days, but no material difference is to be assumed.

Note VI. *p.* 228.—I agree with Grote (iv. 493, note) in pre-

ferring the narrative of Herodotus to the account of Ephorus (unsafe at this point) ap. Steph. Byzant, s. v. Πάρος, and to that of Cornelius Nepos (*Milt.* c. 7). Miltiades' attempt to avail himself of the treachery of the attendant of the temple, in order to obtain possession of the figure of the divine protectress of the island, derives confirmation from several analogies. Cf. Bötticher, *Tektonik*, bk. iv. p. 142. Plato's observations in *Gorgias*, p. 516, as to the influence exercised by the Prytanis presiding over the voting at the trial of Miltiades, I am unable to reject, as Duncker (p. 690) does, although Herodotus (vi. 136), in speaking of the double vote, makes no allusion to the circumstance.

Note VII. *p.* 234.—Athens had fifty ships in the Æginetan war (Herod. vi. 89), seventy in the year of the battle of Marathon (*id.* vi. 132). Since, then, in B.C. 487 (Ol. lxxiii. 2) a decree was passed constituting the construction of twenty triremes one of the regular annual items of expenditure—a law mentioned by Diodorus as belonging to Ol. lxxv. 4; cf. Bœckh, *Publ. Ec.* vol. i. p. 333 (Eng. Tr.)—a navy of two hundred triremes may have been completed by the autumn of B.C. 481. Cf. Duncker, iv. 704; Stein ad Herod. vii. 144. Accordingly there was no intention of building either two hundred, as might be supposed from Herodotus, or one hundred, as might be gathered from Plut. *Them.* 4, at *once*. Themistocles proceeded cunningly:—κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπάγων καὶ καταβιβάζων τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν. Yet Aristides was well aware that a turning-point in Attic history had arrived. The military power could not continue to exist undisturbed by the side of so progressive a naval power.

Note VIII. *p.* 238.—In the chronology of the political activity of Themistocles I have followed the view of Bœckh (*De Arch. Pseudep.*). For, as it is manifest on other grounds also (*vide* note to p. 18), that already before the battle of Marathon Themistocles was a man of powerful influence, there is no reason for assuming that the archon of Ol. lxxii. 4 (B.C. 494-3), in Dion. *Ant. Rom.* vi. 367, is another Themistocles, and to seek for another year for the archonship of Themistocles in Thuc. i. 93. The remarks of Droysen (*Kieler Stud.* p. 79) confirm the view of Bœckh. There is less certainty as to the date of the law concerning the mines. Doubtless, laws of a similar contents were repeatedly given (cf. Diodor. xi. 43); and the history of the Attic navy (see Note VII. *ante*) makes it appear probable that the conclusive law was not passed till B.C. 487 (Ol. lxxiii. 3), as Duncker assumes. Yet I see no reason for doubting that the revenues of the mines were distributed before the first law, and distributed, *as a rule*, among all the citizens, as Herodotus expressly states. For this was a revenue from domain-property, and not a gift like a distribution of corn (participation in which was renounced by the wealthier classes). For the same reason the income derived from this source did not every year amount to ten drachms per head, but the latter was a most exceptional occurrence, the ordinary revenues having been in this case doubtless increased by large

payments of purchase-money. By this means the income had risen to *circ.* 10×30,000 drachms, *i.e.* to 50 talents=£12 190 *circ.*; and of this fortunate circumstance Themistocles made use for his plans. According to Polyæn. i. 6, the Athenians were just about to distribute a hundred talents (*i.e.* several years' income from the mines), and resolved to give a talent each to as many bodies of one hundred citizens, for the construction of ships. This tradition has nothing in it calling for its rejection, if it is assumed that the talent was to serve to defray the cost of construction of the hull of the ship (Bœckh, *Pub. Ec.* 557, vol. ii. p. 331; Eng. Tr.). If those who defrayed the cost of ship-building added a sum out of their own pockets, this was an additional reason for the poorer citizens to renounce their income.

Note IX. *p.* 250.—The rise of exaggeration in the Greek account (Herod. vii. 35), from the flogging to the branding of the sea, throws considerable doubt on the veracity of the entire story; and the analogies adduced by Grote (v. 22, *note*) after all merely account for the origin of such an anecdote, without offering a pledge for its truth. The construction of the bridge being of itself regarded as an application of fetters to the sea, it might easily come to pass that the act of despotic violence committed against Nature, which offended the sensibility of the Greeks, was painted in more and more glaring colours. Cf. O. Müller, *Kl. D. Schr.* ii. 77. The actual nature of the construction of the bridge continues to remain an enigma.

Note X. *p.* 254.—I have reckoned among the 50,000 Laconian troops not more than 5,000 Spartans, together with 35,000 helots, and in addition 5,000 heavy-armed, with as many light-armed Lacedæmonians, according to Herod. ix. 28; cf. vii. 234. As to the total numbers of the Peloponnesians, see the author's *Peloponnesos*, i. 175, where 3,000 Mantineans should be taken, instead of 1,440. The number of 30,000 citizens for Attica is not to be disputed, as Bähr very correctly observes, ad Herod. v. 97. The census of Ol. lxxxiii. 4 (B.C. 441), (Bœckh, *Pub. Ec.* vol. i. p. 48, Eng. Tr.), only applies to those who claimed a dole of corn (see p. 466). In order to unite all forces in defence of the country, a general amnesty was also decreed at Athens at the season of the highest danger, according to Andocides, *De Mysteriis*, sec. 107. Cf. Scheibe. With this decree is probably connected the return of Aristides, p. 75; Plut. *Them.* c. 11.

Note XI. p. 255.—The 460,000 slaves of the Corinthians, and the 470,000 of the Æginetans, are numbers well attested (Bœckh, *Pub. Ec.* vol. i. p. 55, Eng. Tr.). Only such masses of slaves should not be conceived of as crowded together in the towns; instead of which they were distributed over the ships and transpontine trading establishments. As to the social position of the slaves, it no doubt differed according to the several times and places. In aristocratic states class-distinctions were enforced with great strictness; the democratic atmosphere of Athens was in favour even of the unfree class, and

to the annoyance of the aristocrats (Ps.-Xen. *De Rep. Athen.* i.) encouraged the cultivation of humane and kindly relations between the master and the slave.

Note XII. *p.* 262.—Herodotus, vii. 9, makes Mardonius apply to the struggle of the Hellenes the very suitable term of ἄμιλλα: ἐπειὰν γὰρ ἀλλήλοισι πόλεμον προείπωσι, ἐξευρόντες τὸ κάλλιστον χωρίον καὶ λειότατον ἐς τοῦτο κατιόντες μάχονται. Here no particular πεδία περιμάχητα, such as the Lelantian plain, &c., are in question, as is the opinion of H. Stein; but the meaning is, that they regard the battlefield as a palæstra, where they may measure their powers against one another, without seeking for natural advantages of position.

Note XIII. *p.* 265.—Cf. Pindar's seventh Pythian Ode to the Alcmæonide Megacles as victor in the chariot-race. Cf. T. Mommsen, *Pindaros*, p. 40, f. Bœckh understands the praise of Athens to refer to the victory of Marathon. The Pythian games fell in the month of Metagitinion (see *Berlin Monatsh.* 1864, p. 129), the month in which the battle was fought. It is possible, but at the same time highly improbable, that the poem was composed between the Delphic festival and the battle. (See L. Schmidt, *Pindars Leben*, p. 85.)

Note XIV. *p.* 278.—It is scarcely possible to explain the expedition of Leonidas, except on the supposition that the king insisted upon undertaking it against the will of the authorities, and that in the end he marched before with a chosen band, in order thus to force the rest into coming out from behind their entrenchments. That Leonidas and his band were from the first ready to sacrifice their lives, is evident from the fact that the three hundred were one and all selected from among those who left heirs behind them at home (Herod. vii. 205). Thus there can be no reference here to the Spartan "knights" (p. 275); but neither may we, with Bähr, translate οἱ κατεστεῶτες as "*justæ ætatis viri.*" It rather seems as if the number three hundred had been traditional in enterprises of this nature, and that their selection was left to the king, volunteers being perhaps at the same time allowed to offer their services.

Note XV. *p.* 307.—The date of the battle is not to be fixed with any certainty; we only know of the festivals celebrated in its honour, the days of which Plutarch (*Arist.* 19) in this case, as in that of Marathon, inaccurately assumes to refer to the actual battle. The latter accordingly took place a few days before the last day but three of Panemus, according to the Bœotian calendar; while the Athenians fixed a still later day for the festival, viz. the fourth Boëdromion, the festival of the victory being immediately followed by that at Agræ (p. 26); cf. Bœckh, *Z. Gesch. d. Mondcyklen*, p. 67. At the same time the sepulchral celebration in Mæmacterion (Alalcomenius = Nov., Dec.) ought not to be confused with the Panhellenic festival of victory of the Eleutheria, as K. Fr. Hermann, Schœmann, and others have done. The Eleutheria alone included competitive games (Sauppe). The inscription in Keil's *Sylloge*

inscr. Bœot., p. 127, attests the long continuance, or rather the revival, of the festival in the times of the Emperors.

Note XVI. *p.* 313.—Plato, *Leg.* p. 692. As to Herodotus as a historian, see Niebuhr's *Lectures on Ancient History*, i. 35, 90, 167, ff. (Schmitz's Tr.), and Vischer's objections. With regard to the defects of Herodotus, his indifference as to observing an accurate chronological order, and his untrustworthiness in all matters of dates, least admit of denial (Metropulos, *Gesch. Unters. ü. d. Laced. Heerw.* &c. p. 51). As to the conventional exaggeration of the Greeks in matters of numbers, see Arnold ad Thuc. i. 74. The exaggerated importance attached to the historical events of the ensuing period (compare the myths attaching to the First Crusade) is most clearly proved by the account of the Scythian campaigns (p. 161; Niebuhr, *Lectures on Anc. Hist.* vol. i. p. 157, Eng. Tr.). The same is the case with regard to the myths as to the bridge over the Hellespont (p. 250). The authenticity of Herodotus' account of the affairs of his own country has not been overthrown by the manifold invidious attacks upon it; cf. *Note* XXXVII. *infra*. Plutarch, who, as a Bœotian, is dissatisfied with Herodotus, is unsuccessful in his attempts to invalidate his authenticity. In objecting to him his insufficient praises of the Greeks, he attests his impartiality. Herodotus, notwithstanding his love of the Athenians, defends Corinth against Athens (viii. 94). Neither the warmth of his sympathies, nor his theological line of thought (p. 502), nor his artistic sense (p. 530), damage his character as a faithful enquirer, because he manifests no design of arranging facts according to his own point of view. The case is, of course, a different one with regard to the incidental speeches, of which Herodotus takes advantage for introducing reflections of a more general character, bearing significantly upon the times. Thus conversations such as that referred to on p. 259, f., ought not to be regarded as historical events. We have, unfortunately, no information concerning poetic descriptions of the Wars of Liberation, like those by Simonides (*vid.* Suidas). Later works of the kind will be subsequently mentioned. As to pictorial representations, see the commentators (ad Eur. *Ion*, 1159; Bœckh, *Gr. Trag. Princ.* p. 192). The only work of art preserved to us which allows us to realise the grand style in which the Greeks designed historical representations belonging to the period of the Wars of Liberation, is the famous Darius-vase, the historical meaning of which I have endeavoured to point out in detail in the *Arch. Zeitung*, 1857, p. 109; cf. O. Jahn, *Tod der Sophoniba*, 1859, p. 15. As to the calamities having been brought upon themselves by the Persians, cf. Thuc. i. 69 (ὁ βάρβαρος αὐτὸς περὶ αὑτῷ τὰ πλείω σφαλείς). Through the burning of the temples (by the advice of the Magi; Cic. *Leg.* ii. 10), the war assumed the character of a religious war, like that of Cambyses in Egypt (Herod. viii. 143).

Note XVII. *p.* 331.—The statements in the text as to the visit of Pausanias to Thessaly, and the transportation home [illegible]

remains of Leonidas, rest upon the emendation of Paus. iii. 14, 1, where O. Müller (*Doricr.* ii. 510) conjectures *τέσσαρσι* for *τεσσαράκοντα*. Schubart, on the other hand, conjectures the occurrence of a *lacuna*, which he supplies thus: [*Παυσανίου τοῦ Πλειστάνακτος*] *τοῦ Παυσανίου*. In this case the event in question belongs to the time when Pausanias, during the exile of his father, reigned as a child under age, *i.e.* B.C. 440 *circ.* In this case, again, the guardian of Pausanias must have marched to Thermopylæ in the place of his ward—an assumption not corresponding to the writer's expression. The whole event, of which Pausanias alone makes mention, remains too isolated to admit of our forming a clear opinion as to the date and causes of its occurrence.

Note XVIII. *p.* 331.—Diodorus, xi. 48, erroneously places the end of the reign of Leotychides, and the accession of Archidamus, in the year of Phædon, Ol. lxxvii. 1 (B.C. 476)—a mistake which has been corrected in the evidence of Diodorus himself. See Clinton, *Fasti* II. App. 3. Leotychides reigned twenty-two, Archidamus forty-two years; the latter died in B.C. 429: hence the banishment of Leotychides falls in the year B.C. 469 (Ol. lxxvii. 4), the year of Apsephion; and the error of Diodorus seems to have resulted from a confusion of the names *Ἀψεφίων* and *Φαίδων*. Cf. Krüger, *Hist.-philol. Studien*, p. 150.

Note XIX. *p.* 339.—The statements as to the number of years during which the Attic hegemony lasted, made by the orators, admit of no wholly accurate dating of its commencement; the variation in these numbers proves that only a general estimate is intended. The most precise statement occurs in Demosthenes, iii. 24, ix. 23; he reckons the endurance of the hegemony at forty-five years, subtracting from the total of years between the departure of the Persians and the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war (a total traditionally fixed at fifty years) the five years during which the Spartans still continued in possession of the hegemony. Cf. K. Fr. Hermann, *Gr. Staataltherth.* sec. 36, 7.

Note XX. *p.* 344.—According to Plut. *Theseus*, 36, the Pythia gave the oracle as to the remains of Theseus *Φαίδωνος ἄρχοντος*, *i.e.* Ol. lxxvi. (B.C. 476); their transportation home took place under Apsephion, Ol. lxxvii. 4 (B.C. 469). So long an interval between the promulgation of the oracle and its execution is in the highest degree improbable (cf. p. 120); hence in this case also we ought to assume a confusion to have taken place between the two archons (cf. *Note* XVIII. *ante*), and to assign the same date of the year 469 to the oracle, the conquest of the island, and the restoration of the remains of Theseus. Cf. Krüger, p. 39, ff.; Vischer, *Kimon*, p. 46.

Note XXI. *p.* 351.—I remain unconvinced by the arguments of A. Schäfer, in the *Philologus*, xviii. 187, against the anecdote concerning Hiero. He appeals to the splendour displayed by the Tyrant in Hellas, and at Olympia in particular; but this merely accounts for the disregard shown to the proposal of Themistocles: a fact doubtless highly probable. Again, the recurrence of a similar

case (that of the elder Dionysius) fails to invalidate the testimony of Theophrastus. How frequently cases of doubt as to the admissibility of competitors recur at Olympia, and how natural therefore is the occasional repetition of similar events! Accordingly, the analogous cases merely help to prove one another, and show what points might be brought forward when the admissibility of competitors became the subject of enquiry.

Note XXII. *p.* 359.—Xerxes dies Ol. lxxviii. 4 (B.C. 465), according to Diodor. xi. 69 and the canon of the Ptol. (Clinton, ii. 318). After the death of Xerxes, Themistocles arrives in Persia (Thuc. i. 137; Charon ap. Plut. *Them.* 27). The contradictory nature of the statements of Ephorus, Dinon, Clitarchus, Heraclitus, and others, explains itself from the fact that the seven months of Artabanus (Manetho ap. Syncellus, p. 75 D) were by some added to the reign of Xerxes, by others to that of Artaxerxes. Accordingly the reign of Xerxes is variously reckoned at twenty and twenty-one years (Clinton ad ann. B.C. 465, and p. 314). According to Aristotle (*Polit.* p. 1312, b. (220, 13), Artabanus (Ἀρταπάνης) first put to death Darius, and then his father; *φοβούμενος τὴν διαβολὴν τὴν περὶ Δαρεῖον.* Cf. Schneider's *Comm.* p. 343. Grote (v. 380) refers the accusation of Leobotes (p. 126) to the first prosecution of Themistocles. A correct account is given in Kutorga, *Le Parti Persan*, 1860, p. 22, f.

Note XXIII. *p.* 388.—Justinus, iii. 6, (hence probably Ephorus as well) places the date of the removal of the treasury immediately after the ostracism of Cimon; he is followed by Dodwell, *Ann. Thuc.* p. 83, who gives the date 461, Ol. lxxix. 84. Bœckh (*Pub. Econ. Ath.* vol. ii. p. 135, Eng. Tr.) is inclined to assume an earlier date (but the uncertain reference to Aristides ap. Plutarch, c. 25, cannot determine the question); others a much later one. Sauppe (*Nachrichten von der K. Ges. d. W.* 1865, p. 249) assumes the year 454, when, according to newly-discovered inscriptions (see *Note* XXXII. *infra*), commenced that administration of the Confederate treasury, of which the documents remain in the inscriptions referring to the tributes.

The closeness of the relations between Samos and Athens, to which the proposal of the Samians points, is further attested by coins bearing the legend ΣΑ and ΑΘΕΝ. See Borrel, *Numism. Chron.* 1844, p. 74. Again, the tetradrachmon (ap. Beulé, *Monnaies d'Athènes*, p. 37) displays the Samian symbol as a secondary mark.

Note XXIV. *p.* 396.—A proof of the importance attached by the Spartans to the victory of Tanagra is the shield which they hung up as a dedicatory offering on the temple of Olympia (Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, ii. 110). As to the Attic view of the battle, see the passages enumerated by Poppo ad Thuc. i. 108. The conclusion of a truce of four months is attested by Diod. xi. 80. Bœckh, ad Pind. *Isthm.* vi. 532, assumes, in accordance with Plat. *Menexem.* p. 2426, a battle near Œnophyta of three days' duration. Clinton takes a different view.

Note XXV. *p.* 399.—The view (attested by Thuc. i. 103 and Diod. x. 84, presumed by Justinus, and, as is shown in the text, perfectly consonant with the historic course of events), according to which the third Messenian war lasted for a period of ten years, has been opposed on insufficient grounds by Krüger (*Stud.* i. p. 156), followed by Rauchenstein (*Philol.* ii. 201) and Classen ad Thuc. There is nothing strange in the anticipatory character of Thucydides' account: cf. F. Ritter, *N. Jen. Litt. Ztg.* 1842, p. 358.

Note XXVI. *p.* 412.—Cf. Suidas, s. v. Καλλίας; Herod. vii. 51, with the note of Schöll in his Transl. and Intr. p. 15. E. Müller has rightly judged the term to be a misnomer, "peace of Cimon;" but I am unable to conclude from the obscure (and probably corrupt) passage of Isocr. *Panegyr.* sec. 120, that a tariff of taxation was fixed on the part of Athens for the cities left in the hands of the Persians—a tariff which the Persian government was to be prohibited from exceeding. A careful criticism of the transactions up to this point concerning the peace has been furnished by H. Hiecke (*De Pace Cimonica*); but even he does not appear to have wholly destroyed the force of the *argumenta a silentio*. Least of all is it conceivable, that Herodotus should have only mentioned in such meagre and intentionally obscure terms a peace constituting a termination, so glorious to Athens, of the conflicts between the Hellenes and Barbarians, had such a peace been actually concluded in B.C. 449. The notice in Suidas (where Hiecke, p. 45, assumes a confusion of events and a *lacuna*) is evidently to be traced back to a trustworthy source. The balance of power on the Asiatic coast actually produced by the victories of Cimon is further attested by the coins of the coast-towns; those situate to the east of the Swallow Islands preserve the closest connexion with the Persian finances. Cf. J. Brandis, *Mass-Geld.-und Münzwesen Vorderasiens*, p. 220.

Note XXVII. *p.* 451.—Thuc. i. 77. According to Aristotle, the Athenians managed trials of allies ἀπὸ συμβόλων; Bekker, *Anecd.* 436; Hesych. s. v.; Bœckh, *Pub. Econ.* vol. ii. p. 141, *note* (E. Tr.); Herbst, in *Philol.* xvi. 292. Just as the Spartans managed the hegemony according to συνθῆκαι concluded with the separate states (Plut. *Quæst. Gr.* 5), so it is probable that between Athens and her allies certain treaties were also concluded, to which the Athenians were able to appeal, in order euphemistically to designate the system by which they forced the allies to submit to the Athenian tribunals as a legal arrangement settled by mutual agreement. As to the participation of the communities in trials of their members through σύνδικοι: *C. I. Gr.* n. 2533; Welcker, *Kl. Schr. zur Gr. Litt.* ii. 395. The idea of hegemony among the Greeks is essentially based upon the colonial system of law (Thuc. i. 38); thus Athens, as the mother-city of Ionia (Herod. vii. 51, viii. 22) could claim the same right of enforcing upon her attendance at the Athenian tribunals that Epidaurus could formerly claim over Ægina (Herod. v. 83). Hence in this instance also there was no lack

of analogies from earlier international law. Nor is there really any distinction between the term φόρος (generally translated "tribute," like δασμός) and ἀποφοραί, *i.e.* contributions to the military exchequer, such as Sparta also received. Hence the term φόρος implies nothing contradictory to the idea of the συμμαχία.

Note XXVIII. *p.* 453.—Unfortunately, the history of the whole system of public pay, which Aristotle had carefully traced out in his account of the Attic constitution, is not to be restored with any certainty. There is no doubt on this point, that the institution of military pay belongs to the age of Pericles: as to the necessity of this institution, see Bœckh, *Pub. Econ.* vol. i. p. 363 (E. Tr.). Among the different kinds of public pay for services in the city, that of jurymen was first introduced: according to evidence certainly not absolutely trustworthy (Bœckh, *ib.* p. 311, *note*), it is ascribed to Pericles. This precedent was followed in the institution of pay for attendance at popular assemblies, probably commencing at the rate of one obol (Schœmann, *Verfassungsgesch. Athens*, p. 87). In certain families it was a hereditary tradition to support all democratic institutions. To one of these families, according to a probable conjecture of Bœckh, belonged the Callistratus known as "inventor of the obol," and called by the *sobriquet* of πάρνοψ (grasshopper); cf. Schäfer, *Demosthenes*, i. 11. The former of these names gives probability to the assumption that he had played a prominent part already in the introduction of the judicial pay. Callicrates, whose name remained proverbial as that of a demagogue notorious for reckless proposals (Bœckh, vol. i. p. 306), seems to have been concerned in the increase of this pay, as well as of that for attendance at the assemblies. Callicrates, as well as Agyrrhius, is a relative of Callistratus.

Note XXIX. *p.* 457.—As to the continuous strategy of Pericles, see Plut. c. 16; Niebuhr, *Lect. on Anc. Hist.* ii. 67 (E. Tr. ii. p. 47). As to the helmet of Pericles, *Arch. Zeitung*, 1860, p. 40. With reference to the pecuniary resources of the Strategus, Plut. c. 23. As to Pericles' extraordinary authority as Strategus, Schœmann, *De Comitiis*, p. 314; Bergk, *Rel. Com.* p. 58; Vischer, *Epigr. Beiträge*, p. 61—cf. Diod. xiii. 69, στρατηγοὶ ἐξ ἁπάντων; Bœckh, ad *Antigon.* p. 190; cf. Athen. 213 E. The importance of the Strategy, as held by Pericles, probably also explains the use of the word in Sophocles, *e.g. Antig.* 8.

Note XXX. *p.* 459.—As to the administration of the supreme treasurer's office (ταμίας, ἐπιμελητὴς τῆς κοινῆς προσόδου) by Pericles, we have no definite account handed down to us; yet he must have enjoyed the powers of that office, if he could fix the budget of state, dispose of the public moneys, and take under his control the Federal treasury [redacted] been brought to [redacted] xii. 38. As to [redacted]

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among the extraordinary Liturgies. For even in times of peace trierarchs were annually elected (Bœckh, i. 700; Schäfer, *Demosth.* i. 155). The εἰσφορά alone was regarded as an extraordinary service. How long, and under what circumstances, the usage maintained itself, of the *choregus* (as his name implies) standing himself at the head of his chorus, cannot be accurately determined.

Note XXXII. *p.* 481.—Many points of detail in connexion with these subjects remain obscure, notwithstanding Bœckh's elucidations (*Abh. d. Ak. d. Wiss.* 1846, pp. 358, 378, and *Pub. Econ.* chap. v. E. Tr.), particularly the historical developement of the system. The moneys originally belonging to the goddess as her private property were indeed regarded as a separate department, but were not under separate management. The property of the temple was secularised, and all the moneys were under the control of the state. Hence at some time a serious inroad must have been made upon the rights of the priests; probably about the time of the Pisistratidæ, when certain well-defined civic taxes were assigned to the goddess. As to the quota paid to the city-goddess out of the tributes flowing into the Federal treasury (ἀπαρχαὶ τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ), Bœckh has calculated them to have amounted to the tithe of a monthly rate (founding his calculation on the circumstance that the several items, when multiplied by 120, produce round sums, and correspond to the product of probable sums of tribute. According to inscriptions recently discovered, however, the temple-quota amounted not to $\frac{1}{120}$th, but to $\frac{1}{100}$th of the sum-total of the tributes, μνᾶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ταλάντου (U. Köhler). Further discoveries and enquiries will show whether this was a *constant* proportion between temple-quota and sum-total of the tributes.

Note XXXIII. *p.* 483.—Hitherto it was generally assumed, with Bœckh, that the two administrative epochs of the Attic finances, which are indicated by the numbers of years of certain magistrates (viz. by the βουλή of such and such a number, and the ἀρχή of such and such a number), coincided with one another, and referred to *one* all-important institution in the financial system. This institution Bœckh considered to have been that of the "Thirty." And as in the case of the βουλή this date can be fixed at Ol. lxxxiii. 2 (B.C. 447-6), the same date was assigned in the case of the "Thirty," and the organisation of the system of tributes connected with their first appointment. But the inscription referred to in the preceding Note proves that the two epochs do *not* coincide. The epochal year of the ἀρχαί is Ol. lxxxi. 3 (B.C. 454-3). It was accordingly at that date that the board of the "Thirty" was established; and this was doubtless a measure belonging to the age of Pericles, connected with the great reforms incidental upon the transfer [illegible] and desi[illegible] a guarantee to characterise the Therefore Sauppe

Note XXXIV. *p.* 489.—The document of the foundation of Brea has been simultaneously published by Bœckh, *Monatsber. der Pr. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1853, p. 147 ; and Sauppe, *Berichte der Sächs. G. d. Wiss.* 1853 ; and recently discussed by Böhneke, *Dem. Lykurg. und Hyperides*, p. 334, ff.; and by Bergk, *Philol.* xxii. 538.—As to Thucydides in Thurii: Bergk, *Comm. de Rel. Com.* p. 54 ; M. H. E. Meieri *Opusc. Academ.* p. 219.—Coins of New Sybaris: Carelli, *Nummi It.* p. 89, 11-14.—The city-spring of Thuria: *Griech. Brunneninschr.* p. 28 (*Abh. der Kön. Ges. der Wiss. zu Gött.* viii. 180).—As to the foundation of Amphipolis, see Weissenborn, *Hellen.* p. 152. The year of its date is one of the most important chronological points for the determination of other dates: twenty-eight years before it the battle of Drabescus is placed by Thuc. iv. 102 ; contemporaneously, *i.e.* B.C. 465, the revolt of Thasus ; a short time before the battle of the Eurymedon and the siege of Naxos, the date of which is again determined by the succession in the Persian monarchy.

Note XXXV. *p.* 493.—Plutarch, *Pericl.* c. 37, inaccurately mentions 4,760 as the number of those sold into slavery. As to the number 14,000, see *Note* IX. *ante.* Philochorus, ad Schol. ad Aristoph. *Vesp.* 716, mentions Psammetichus as the giver. Sintenis, ad Plutarch. regards this as a mistake for Inarus ; Bergk, *N. Jahrb. f. Phil.* 1852, p. 584, on the other hand, conjecturing the father of Inarus to have been the person in question: but it is impossible to date the law of Pericles as far back as Ol. lxxix. It seems to me to be most simple to assume that the Greeks called the grandson of Psammetichus by his grandfather's name, and that the person in question is the son of Inarus, called on other occasions by the Libyan name of Tannyras (Herod. iii. 15).

Note XXXVI. *p.* 498.—As to Cephalus, Lysias in *Eratosth.* sec. 4. The chronology of his family (see O. Müller, *Gr. Litt.* ii. 369—Eng. Trans. ii. 138) has been corrected by Vater and Westermann (*Lysiæ Orationes*, 1854, p. 6). According to their researches, Cephalus came to Athens Ol. lxxxiii. 1 (B.C. 448) *circ.*; his son Lysias was born there Ol. lxxxviii. 1 (B.C. 432), and after the death of his father in the seventeenth year of his age, emigrated with his brother Polemarchus to Thurii, where he remained up to Ol. xcii. 1 (B.C. 432).

Note XXXVII. *p.* 520.—It should be remembered that in Athens every man had to conduct his own cause (Meier and Schœmann, *Att. Proz.* 207); an exception being made only in the case of relatives or friends. Accordingly, whoever had a speech composed for him by an advocate, had to speak it himself. Antiphon is said to have been the first to make a trade of this writing out of speeches. It was not until during the course of the Pelo[redacted] the agency of these λογογράφοι became [redacted] and Antiphon: Müller[redacted]

Pericles: Schöll, *Sophokles, Leben*, p. 118, f. Thucydides, in his relations with Pericles: Kutzen, *Perikles als Staatsmann*, pp. 136, 137, 163.

Note XXXVIII. *p.* 533.—As to Æschylus, cf. Kiehl in *Mnemosyne*, i. (1852) p. 361, f. However greatly Cimon may have been disinclined to refuse Æschylus the prize, yet there are no sufficient grounds for doubting the victory of Sophocles over Æschylus: on the other hand, the tradition must be rejected, according to which Æschylus' anger at his defeat induced him to go to Sicily; for, according to the Didascalia discovered by Franz, he produced the Œdipodean trilogy on the stage a year afterwards (Ol. lxxxviii. 1; B.C. 461). As to Æschylus' residence in Sicily, *vide infra*, vol. viii.; and as to the competition of the two tragedians, Helbig, in the *Zeitschr. f. Gymnasialw.* xvi. 99.

Note XXXIX. *p.* 554.—As to Cimon's exertions for the fame of Miltiades, see Brunn, *Gesch. der gr. Kunstler*, i. 162, ii. 21. Æsch. *in Ctes.* 186 should be interpreted in a similar sense. As to the group of statuary at Delphi: Paus. x. 10; cf. Sottling, *Ber. der k. Sächs. Ges. der Wiss.* 1854, p. 17; and the author's essay, *Weihgeschenke der Griechen nach den Perserkriegen* ("On the Dedicatory Gifts of the Greeks after the Persian Wars"), where the work of Phidias at Delphi is discussed, and the grounds assigned for the conjecture that on it, by the side of Codrus and Theseus, was represented Philaïus, the mythical founder of the house of Miltiades and Cimon, who by emigrating to Athens from Salamis brought the latter into the possession of the former.

Note XL. *p.* 556.—As to the *psephisma* proposed by Pericles in reference to the restoration of the Greek sanctuaries having been a national matter: Plutarch, *Pericl.* c. 17. To the commencement of the architectural works of Pericles Sauppe attempts to assign a date based upon the inscriptions dated according to the years of the Council (cf. *Note* XXXIII. *ante*); conjecturing that Ol. lxxxiii. 2 (B.C. 447-6) was the year in which all these edifices were, in conformity with one general design, proposed, sanctioned, and then entrusted to the Council as supreme supervising authority. But the debates as to the execution of the great edifices continued up to the time of the banishment of Thucydides.

Note XLI. *p.* 571.—As to the frieze two facts are ascertained: viz. in the first place, that it relates to the Panathenæa, and to them alone; in the second, that the procession represented is not the actual festive procession: which tends to suggest the προάγων as the subject commemorated; for I am unable to rest satisfied with the notion of an "ideal conception," where many comparatively [redacted] details are represented, and other very brilliant and [redacted] left out. Accordingly, I cannot content [redacted] of "the heads of the festive [redacted]" (according to A.

hroning on the front side are divinities is further supported by he analogy of the frieze on the Theseum.

Note XLII. *p.* 584.—As to the architectonic arrangement of the scent to the citadel (the ἄνοδος), the enquiries opened by Beulé are ot yet complete. Probably lower watch-towers existed. As to he date of the erection of the temple of Nice, Michaelis may be onsulted (*Arch. Ztg.* xx. p. 250), though I consider his reasons are nsufficient to prove the assumption that, when constructing the Propylæa, Mnesicles found the present temple of Nice already in existence.

END OF VOL. II.

CORRIGENDA.

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Page	21,	*line*	1,	*for*	"is,"	*read*	"are."
„	104,	„	27,	„	"damp,"	„	"water."
„	112,	„	5,	„	"Peenus,"	„	"Peneus."
„	188,	*lines*	20, 23,	„	"Ægistheus,"	„	"Ægisthus.
„	212,	*line*	29,	„	"impossibly,"	„	"not possibly."
„	239,	„	36,	„	"or,"	„	"nor."
„	272,	„	31,	„	"*triera*,"	„	"*trieris.*"
„	273,	„	24,	„	"cellar,"	„	"cella."
„	281,	„	39,	„	"Epirus,"	„	"Epidaurus."
„	302,	„	33,	„	"before"	„	"before, that."
„	308,	„	37,	„	"govermental,"	„	"governmental."
„	322,	„	21,	„	"and could waters,"	„	"waters, and could
„	339,	„	18,	„	"run,"	„	"ran."
„	367,	„	25,	„	"offence of Cylon,"	„	"Cylonian crime."
„	387,	„	33,	„	"ballot,"	„	"lot."
„	473,	„	26,	„	"*Ionien*,"	„	"*Ionier.*"

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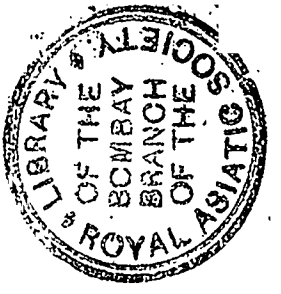
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